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The Family and the New Democracy

A Study in Social Hygiene

By

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY VALIANT AND PATRIOTIC ANCESTORS
PIONEERS AND LOYAL SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE
KEYSTONE STATE WHO SERVED THE STATE AND
NATION IN THE INDIAN AND REVOLUTIONARY
WARS AND IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE STATE THROUGH ITS ROADS
AND RAILWAY SYSTEMS

THIS BOOK ON THE FAMILY
IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

TO MY GREAT-GREAT-GRANDFATHER
JAMES MOORE AND HIS WIFE;

TO MY GREAT-GRANDFATHER
JOHN MOORE AND HIS WIFE ELEANOR THOMPSON MOORE;

TO MY GRANDFATHER
SAMUEL GALBRAITH AND HIS WIFE NANCY MOORE GALBRAITH;
AND
TO MY FATHER THOMPSON MOORE GALBRAITH AND
HIS WIFE ELIZABETH WOODS GALBRAITH.

AS A SLIGHT TRIBUTE TO
THEIR DARING, INITIATIVE, AND STERLING
INTEGRITY OF CHARACTER

BY THEIR DESCENDANT THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

Ignorance is the curse of God;
Knowledge, the wings wherewith we fly to heaven.—HENRY VI.

If it is possible to perfect mankind, the means of doing so will be found in the medical sciences.—DESCARTES.

"The Family" is the logical sequence to "The Four Epochs of Woman's Life," and with "Personal Hygiene and Physical Training for Women," completes the trilogy on the various phases of woman's life.

Nothing is so greatly neglected to-day (referring to the period just preceding the Great War) as the study of the history of our social institutions, of social hygiene, and of the specific educational training in the duties of marriage and parenthood.

The disintegration of the family is properly considered a national calamity; the Church hurls her anathemas at divorce; the reactionaries blame the feminists; and the progressives blame prostitution, the venereal diseases, alcoholism, and the double standard of morals, for this threatened break-up of the family. What is sorely needed to-day is not mutual recriminations, but constructive coöperation from all classes—statesmen, churchmen, physicians, lawyers, educators, and social economists, to stabilize the family through the education and elevation of the race.

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming of the American people is that in the mad pursuit of the almighty dollar, or in a constant whirl of social gaiety, they have not

stopped to study the past and the logical consequences of certain lines of conduct. And this study is emphatically the first step towards the reconstruction of the stable family along democratic lines.

If marriage and the family are ever going to be ideal and the development of the race reach its highest possible plane, woman must be made man's intellectual companion. And this can only be achieved by a scientific study of the sex characteristics and how they can best be made to complement each other; by the higher education of women, their vocational training, their economic independence, and the recognition of their political rights.

The present study of the four-fold aspect of the family is so vast and covers such a diversity of subjects that in order to bring the whole into the brief compass of a single volume, it was deemed best to give mere sketches of the vital epochs of the history of our social institutions. To endeavor to briefly point out the social evils which are to-day undermining the family and the race, and finally to suggest methods whereby it is believed by many writers and social economists that the welfare and happiness of the family and the race may be greatly increased.

The proposition which confronts us is this: the family and the social institutions which are threatening its disintegration and the degeneracy of the race, are of such national importance as to demand that a special commission should at once be appointed to investigate how these great social vices may be most effectually eradicated; and Federal laws should be enacted on marriage, divorce, and breach-of-promise suits. Happily the evident trend of modern legislation is toward uniformity among the nations of Christendom on the vital subjects of marriage and divorce. But no laws can ever be enacted or will ever

be obeyed until the masses of the people have been educated to see the necessity for such laws and to demand their enactment.

It may be confidently stated that no one so thoroughly understands humanity as the medical profession; they come to us not only for their bodily ailments, but with their mental sufferings and moral lapses, and our offices are literally converted into confessionals. For us is drawn aside the curtains which conceal the family skeletons, and we can truly say we have seen the naked souls of our clientèle. And so ours is especially the duty to make use of this knowledge for the benefit of humanity.

It gives the author pleasure to take this opportunity of expressing her indebtedness to Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, professor of Sociology at Columbia University, for his valuable suggestions in the early preparation of this work; and to Mrs. Emily James Putnam, special lecturer on "Historical Institutions," at Barnard College, for her critical reading of the chapters on the History of our Social Institutions.

A bibliography has been added in the hope that the reader will be sufficiently interested to undertake a deeper study of this all important subject.

ANNA M. GALBRAITH.

NEW YORK CITY,
October, 1919.

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THE FAMILY

AND

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

INTRODUCTION

RALLY TO SAVE THE AMERICAN FAMILY

The Child in the Family; The Function of the Family; The Institution of the Family; Social Hygiene the Basis of Family and National Life; The Moral and Spiritual Benefits of the Great War.

But we are concerned, and we are vitally concerned, not only to make the world safe for democracy, but we are enlisted in America to make democracy safe for the world. . . . This war has changed the fate of nations, and everything old is cast away, and we shall emerge as a young, a new and fresh Republic, with vision to see justice more clearly than we have ever seen it in the past.—SECRETARY DANIELS.

When we consider that one out of every twelve marriages ends in the divorce courts; that one baby out of every eight born in this country dies before it reaches the age of one year; that the venereal diseases are reckoned to be the greatest menace to the human race to-day; and that it has been estimated that six thousand women in New York City alone are swept down into the bottomless pit every year;[1] it is self-evident that the reconstruc-

[1] Reginald W. Kauffman.

tion of our social institutions is only second in importance to the winning of the Great War.

The Child in the Family.—The child is the central fact of a nation's progress. What a nation comes to be is evidence of what its children have been trained, allowed, and encouraged to be. Each generation is the parent of the next, and it rests with this generation to secure the well-being and progress of the next. Childhood is the time when human nature is most easily molded; and the bent that is given to it then is nine times out of ten decisive of its ultimate destiny.

Babies have no corporate existence; there is no proper purpose for which they can be moved from the seclusion in the family, which is their natural setting. In real life babies come one by one, and they come only when they are expected and adequate arrangements have been made for their comfort. Babies are born into families and it is only when we leave the family out of the reckoning that the problem of handling them presents serious difficulties.

In the family the baby and the child has a unique position; the concentration of tenderness and attention during the first few months of his helplessness continues, though in a less degree, as he becomes older. There can be no doubt that this differentiation by affection within the family group is the most important factor in developing the individuality of the child. The very fact that his presence gives pleasure to someone, that someone really cares to know all his little secrets, fancies, and troubles; and that there is someone with whom he can live on an equality of affection, has much to do with his physical and moral growth. It is this which forms the real links between generations, and makes of the child something infinitely valuable in itself. Again the

relation with the family is a permanent one. And although it begins with absolute dependence on the parents, it gradually develops into one of mutual support and assistance.

Institution children are notably slower to develop than children who are brought up with their parents, and there is a tendency for the somewhat troublesome qualities of initiative, enterprise, and individuality, to be ruled out by the less valuable qualities which are conformable to discipline and routine. It is for this reason that social schemes which would dispense with the family, and would have the child born straight into the State without its immediate shelter, seemed foredoomed to failure. The State can only deal with classes, not with individuals, and the child who is not dealt with as an individual from the first seems likely never to become one in the fullest sense.

The Function of the Family.—The family is, as we shall see, the primary unit of social order; the first form of society; it is the first step of man in the moral life, without which all others are impossible. Further, if it were not for the nature of the family, this institution so much invoked against among socialists, man would be killed shortly after birth. The family is the very oldest of our social institutions; its origin, as we shall learn, antedates the human race, and probably originated in the prolonged helplessness of the young of the anthropoid apes and the need of the mother for help in the care of the young. In the primitive life of the human race the same conditions prevailed, as they still do to-day.

Furthermore the family is the most powerfully mobilized body of human activity. Sacred and legitimate in itself, it exists to a much greater degree in the union of spirits than in the physical necessity of desire and duty;

through the usages of law and liberty it sanctifies one of the most imperious laws of our animal natures. Finally, the family perfects and completes the existence of the individual in the same way that in the moral order it insures the persistence of society. The growing laxity of the present generation in the sphere of sex indicates the fate that must await any civilization which neglects the development of will and conscience in favor of a merely material and intellectual culture.

Manhood means discipline, and the old ethical tradition has stood for such discipline over against all emotional subjectivism and all of the youthful worship of the merely natural instincts. The will, the backbone of all personal life, cannot be developed except in such an atmosphere of discipline. Moreover genuine erotic feeling itself cannot develop except upon such a basis of well-developed will power.

"Why was I born? For what purpose was I created and put upon the earth?" All great minds who have studied this problem deeply, unanimously agree that there is a purpose in life. We are not a thing apart, an isolated entity; we are a part of the great stream of life; we have an ideal to maintain, a sacred duty to perform, both toward our ancestors and our descendants. And our descendants will hold us responsible for our manner of living. And we have also a duty to perform toward our own age of society. If we fail in our duty and in our responsibilities, we not only rob the world of the help which we should have bestowed, but in a far larger measure we deprive ourselves of the benefits and pleasures that would have been the direct outcome of the fulfillment of these responsibilities.

The Institution of the Family.—So many divergent factors enter into the makeup of the family that it can

only be stable, happy, and prosperous when all of these factors have been taken into consideration and the proper foundations for its security have been laid.

To-day, and especially in the United States, the existence of this institution of the family is threatened by three fatal excrescences, which have fastened their deadly fangs upon the tree of life and happiness, sapping away its vitality like a cancerous growth. They are prostitution, free love, and divorce. And the well-nigh insurmountable difficulty of completely exterminating these evils lies in fact that they are almost as old as civilization itself. With the institution in ancient Greece of monogamy as the only legal form of marriage, arose *pari passu* the legalization of prostitution. We shall see that divorce was legalized at a very much earlier date, and free love, so strongly advocated to-day by the extreme wing of socialists, arose in the last years of the Roman Empire and is believed to have been one of the great underlying causes of its fall.

And it is only by the scientific investigation of just how these three institutions—prostitution, free love, and divorce—affect the family and the race, and the application of these principles to the institution of the family, that the rapidly disintegrating American family of to-day can be saved from being a mere social, nominal relation of the sexes for the propagation of the race, to be dissolved at the pleasure of either party concerned. Thus will it be transformed into what it must be to elevate the race and to standardize and perfect the amalgam of all citizens dwelling under the ægis of our glorious banner, into a true and noble American citizenship, the fusion of two incomplete beings into one perfect whole, to the mutual help, comfort, and happiness which the one should have of the other; and for the propagation of

the best possible progeny which can be produced from normal stock.

Social Hygiene the Basis of Family and National Life.—A study of social hygiene has been forced on the attention of the public through the great havoc that threatened the armies during the first years of the war through the venereal diseases, which are so highly contagious as to threaten not only the health of the individual, but of the family and community as well. And society has a right to demand of the State that it at once set up a vigorous campaign to stamp out these diseases, just as it so successfully stamped out yellow and typhoid fever.

Never was the time so propitious as it is *to-day*, when the State demands the supreme sacrifice as the duty of man. It is a small thing to demand that he shall give up his vices, and in the greater sacrifice the lesser one seems trifling. Humanity would never have fallen to its present low level had woman received the same educational, economic, and political privileges as man. The policy which has heretofore ruled the world has been that of keeping woman in ignorance of the physiologic laws and ethics of marriage and parenthood, and of the vices of our underground social institutions. Woman, the riddle of the sphinx in the past, is nature's supremest instrument for the future.

The Moral and Spiritual Benefits of the Great War.—"On the whole," says Donald Hankey,[1] "the actual experiences of war bring the best man to the front, and the best qualities in the average man. Officers and men are welded into a closer comradeship by dangers and discomforts shared. They learn to trust each other and to look for essential qualities rather than for accidental graces. One learns to love men for their great hearts,

[1] A Student in Arms.

their pluck, their indomitable spirits, their irrepressible humor, their readiness to share a weaker brother's burden rather than their own. . . . You have learned to know a man when you see one and to value him. . . . He had learned too in the trenches that God had given him a man's part to play as a man should. To see the possibilities in the part they were called upon to take, and they resolved to make the most of it.

"*And after the war? Much depends on the women of England. If they carefully guard the ancient ruts against our return, and if their gentle fingers press us back into them, we shall acquiesce; but if at this hour of crisis they too have seen a wider vision of national unity and learned a more catholic charity, the future is indeed radiant with hope.*"[1]

The problems of our social institutions which confront the State to-day are peculiarly the work of American womanhood, because it has not been their privilege in the masses to do the marvelous work that has been imposed on and gladly taken up by the women of France and Great Britain. Their Governments have declared that the war could never have been carried on to victory, but for the coöperation of their women. What a glorious privilege it will be for the women of America to point to the redemption of the family, as their highest part in this the turning point of the world's history.

To-day civilization is facing its Calvary, and as Jean Paul Richter said so many years ago of that first Calvary: "The pierced hands of Christ lifted the gates of the ages off their hinges and the stream of life flowed through new channels." And so it is predicted that it will again be said of the supreme sacrifice of mankind to-day; that the gates of the ages will be lifted off their hinges and the stream of life will flow through new channels.

[1] The italics are the writer's.

CHAPTER I

PRIMITIVE MAN'S PROBLEMS OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Marriage and the Family Founded on Biologic, Economic, and Physiologic Laws; Three Arguments against the Theory That a General State of Promiscuity Ever Existed: The Zoölogic, the Physiologic, and the Psychic; The Antiquity of Human Marriage; Bachofen's Theory of the Three General Cultural Stages of the Race: (1) *Hetairism and Limited Promiscuity, Marriage by Capture;* (2) *the Matriarchate and Polyandry;* (3) *the Patriarchate and Polygyny; the Influence of Economic Forces on Marriage and the Family; the Family from an Economic Point of View.*

The softened pressure of an uncouth hand, a human gleam in an almost animal eye, an endearment in an inarticulate voice—feeble things enough. Yet in these faint awakenings lay the hope of the human race.

Marriage and the family are not merely the result of custom, convention, and tradition; but were primarily founded on biologic, economic, and psychologic laws, which sprang up in the animal kingdom prior to the advent of the human race. Marriage and the family were based rather on the hard experience of animals in the struggle for existence, which forced upon them primarily the problem of the food supply and the need of a sort of economic coöperation which would be more lasting in its results than the mere pairing instincts. It was the entire social, mental, and moral product of animal ex-

perience of living together, which man in some measure inherited as a rich legacy from his humble predecessor.

In the lower mammals in a state of nature this pairing instinct only takes place once a year—in the spring time—best adapted for procreation and the care of the young. At this time the most solitary animals come forth and gather together in herds. It is the so-called "rut."

It is obvious that where the generative power is restricted to a certain season, it cannot be the sexual instinct which keeps male and female together for months or years. Considering that this union lasts until after birth of the offspring, and further considering the care taken of them by the father, we may assume that the prolonged union of the sexes is in some way connected with the paternal duties. Westermarck is strongly of the opinion that the tie which joins male and female is an instinct developed through the powerful influence of natural selection. It is evident that where the father helps to protect the offspring, the species is better able to survive in the struggle for existence than it would be if this obligation devolved entirely on the mother. Paternal affection and the instinct which causes male and female to form somewhat durable alliances are thus useful mental dispositions, which in all probability have been acquired by the survival of the fittest.

Marriage and the family are thus intimately connected with each other; it is for the benefit of the young that male and female continue to live together. Marriage is therefore rooted in the family; rather than the family in marriage. The fact that anthropoid apes produce feeble and dependent young, whose infancy is prolonged, was probably the origin of marriage.

There are three principal arguments against the theory

that at any time a general state of promiscuity has existed: the zoölogic, the physiologic, and the pyschic.

1. The Zoölogic Argument.—This is based on a comparison of the sexual habits and instincts of animals with those of the lowest races of men. In the outset it is important to observe that the physical differentiation between the sexes is itself the product of the struggle for existence. Thus when an animal is forced to greater exertion, when it must work in order to exist, when unresistingly it cannot any longer suffer the stream of events to press upon it, but withstands it and seeks to follow its own course, then the separation of the sexes appears, and indeed as a division of labor created by nature for the purpose of developing the species.

From the moment in which the sexes are separated with a specialization of two different reproductive cells, the conjugation of these two cells is the basis of generation in two organic animals, with the absorption among the higher animals of the male cell by the female. As hunger and the struggle for food is an animal instinct for the preservation of the individual, so the sexual and pairing instinct was implanted by nature for the preservation of the species. These two are the great primordial forces of nature.

According to Starcke we are disposed to under-estimate the great influence which sexual matters exert on all of the concerns of life. Primitive marriage did not rest upon the kind of sentiment which we call love, but was as hard and dry as private life itself; it had its origin in the most concrete and prosaic requirements. The common household in which each had a given work to do and the common interests of obtaining and rearing children were the foundations upon which marriage was originally built. According to this view, marriage appears to

have been a kind of contractural relation from the very beginning.

2. The Physiologic Argument.—This rests upon evidence furnished by Sir Henry Maine that promiscuous intercourse between the sexes nowadays tends to pathologic conditions very unfavorable to fecundity, and infecundity amidst perpetually belligerent races implies weakness and ultimate extinction. Dr. Carpenter cites conditions that existed in the West Indies before the abolition of slavery, when the planter took great pains to form the negroes into families, because of the well-known fact that promiscuity produced infertility. It is well authenticated that prostitutes very rarely have children. Westermarck's suggestion is axiomatic for all time: that in a community where all the women belong equally to all the men, the younger and prettier ones would be the most sought after, so that their position would be somewhat akin to the prostitutes of modern society.

3. The Psychologic Argument.—This alleges the universal prevalence of sexual jealousy among all male quadrupeds and, looking back upon the stream of time, leads to the conclusion that judging from the social habits of man as he now exists, the probable view is that the aboriginal man lived in a small community with a single wife or, if powerful, with several wives, whom he jealously guarded against all other men. Among primitive people death or severe punishment was often the penalty for adultery.

Among a large number of peoples a husband not only requires chastity from his wife, but demands that the woman whom he marries shall be a virgin. A husband's pretensions may reach even farther than this; he often demands that the woman whom he chooses to be his wife

shall not only belong to him during his life but after his death. So strong is this idea of the wife being the exclusive property of her husband that among several peoples she may not even survive him.

Against the argument that man's gregarious way of living made promiscuity necessary, else the men of the group must either have quarreled about their women and separated into hostile tribes, Westermarck contends that there is no reason for thinking that tribal organization in primitive times should have differed from those of savage tribes at the present day, in which man has his special wife. He asserts that the numerous facts put forth in support of the hypothesis of general promiscuity do not entitle us to assume that promiscuity has ever been the *prevailing* form of the sexual relations among a single people; far less that it has constituted a general stage in the social development of man; and least of all that such a stage formed the starting point of all human history.

The Antiquity of Human Marriage.—If it be admitted that marriage as the requirement for the existence of certain species is connected with some peculiarity of their organism, and more particularly among the highest monkeys with the paucity of their progeny and the long period of their helplessness, it must be admitted that in all probability among primitive men the same causes kept the sexes together until after the birth of their offspring. The family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring, is a universal institution, whether founded on monogamous, polygynous, or polyandrous marriage. And as among the lower animals having the same habits; it is to the mother that the immediate care of the children belongs, while the father is the provider and guardian of the family. While man in the savage state is very often

indifferent to the welfare of his wife and children, nevertheless the simplest paternal duties are always recognized. If he does nothing else the father builds the habitation and employs himself in chase and war. It has been in rare circumstances only that women have engaged in either pursuit. Under such conditions a family consisting of a mother and young would probably have succumbed.

Man gradually found many new ways of earning his living; and more and more emancipated himself from dependence on surrounding nature. While the chief objects of the previous gregarious life were by this means realized, other advantages became apparent which induced families or small gangs to unite together in large bodies. Thus it appears the gregariousness and sociability of man sprang in the main from the progressive intellectual and material civilization, while the tie that kept together husband and wife, parents and children, was the principal social factor in the earliest life of man.

"Biology," declares Letourneau "is the starting point of sociology." Not only do the same psychic forces which influence gregarious animals also influence gregarious man; but man in very many respects only went on to develop the previous experience of animals, which he made the firm foundation of his higher advancement. Confirming and developing the theories of Darwin and Spencer, Starcke and Westermarck advance as the result of their further researches the belief that the theory of original promiscuity must be abandoned, and that the pairing of one man and of one woman must be accepted as the typical form of sexual union from the infancy of the race and the monogamous family as the primitive social unit. Howard and many other social

economists do not agree in this view that monogamy was the original form of human marriage.

The other most widely held theory of the evolution of monogamous marriage and the family is that advanced by Bachofen and his followers, modified by Heldwald, Lippert, and McLennan.

According to the theory of Bachofen the human race passed through three general cultural stages:

1. Culture State: Hetairism and Limited Promiscuity.—It is the general belief that the hetairism which prevailed was restricted to the immediate horde or kindred, which was never large; thus in the horde there was unregulated polygyny. The union of the sexes was probably loose and transitory. There is no idea of consanguinity, though men may have been held together by a feeling of kindred.

In this first phase of unregulated communism, material motherhood is the essential fact. Fatherhood is necessarily uncertain. There is no conception of kinship between father and child, nor that of property. Everywhere when society emerged from this stage kinship is traced through the female line. Slowly the idea of blood relationship arose, and eventually observation led to a recognition of a system of kinship through the mother. But primitive man was rude, ignorant, and relatively helpless. Before the invention of the arts and provident habits, the struggle for existence must often have been very serious. The instinct of self-preservation must therefore have frequently dominated; in this struggle for food and security the balance of the sexes would be seriously destroyed. As bravery and hunters were required and valued, it would be in the interest of every horde to rear, when possible, its healthy male children. The weaker sex must obey the cruel law of

the survival of the fittest; hence arose the common and perhaps general practice of female infanticide, which left only one or two girls in a family.

The natural consequence of the diminution of womanhood would be to enhance their value and relative importance. Every woman would now have several wooers; quarrels and divisions within the horde would become of frequent occurrence. This led to the stealing of women from the weaker tribes. These were the first wars for women and were one of the causes which led to exogamy, the other cause being that a horror of incest or inbreeding arose in the endogamous mother-group.

Exogamy or the Prohibition of Marriage among Kindred and Wife Capture.—Spencer says: "In all times and places among savages and civilized peoples, victory is followed by pillage, and the victors take all of the portable things of value which they find. The taking of women is manifestly but a part of this process of spoiling the vanquished." Women were prized as wives, concubines, and drudges; and after the men were killed the women were carried off by the victors. The captured woman had the additional value in that she served as a trophy.

Westermarck thinks that the explanation of the horror of incest among primitive peoples must have been the operation of the laws of natural selection. Among the ancestors of man as well as among animals there must have been a time when relationship was no bar to sexual intercourse. Variations here as elsewhere would manifest themselves, and those of our ancestors who avoided inbreeding would survive, while the others would gradually decay and ultimately perish. Thus an instinct would be developed which would, as a rule, be powerful enough to prevent injurious unions. Of course it would

simply display itself as an aversion on the part of individuals to the union with others with whom they lived, but these as a matter of fact would be blood relations, so that the result would be the survival of the fittest.

It is a mooted question as to whether woman had any part in the overthrow of hetairism and communism, but it is a generally accepted belief that these changes in the social relation of the sexes were brought about solely because of the changed economic conditions in which the question of private property in lands and movables arose, and also from the natural jealousy of man.

2. Culture Stage: the Matriarchate.—This is presented as a turning point, a transitional phase through which humanity passed from its lowest to its highest status. Within it the rudiments of marriage appear but combined with hetairism surviving in various forms. The mother ceases to be merely the center of common life, and she is now the social axis around which everything revolves. Mother-right, involving as the necessary consequence of the continued uncertainty of fatherhood, the recognition of kinship only in the female line as well as succession to name and property now became fully established.

Polyandry resulted from the scarcity of women and is regarded as the earliest type of the family so-called—a family resting upon marriage, that is, upon the courtship of men and women protected by public opinion. It is of especial interest because of its progressive phase and it is held to be the medium of transition from the maternal to the paternal or *agnatic* system of kinship; and therefore through the aid of contract in the form of wife purchase, to modern conceptions of the marriage relation.

Bachofen's theory, holding that this became an age of

gynocracy involving the social leadership of women and eventually the political and military subjugation of men, is no longer accepted by our leading sociologists.

Gynocracy and with it polyandry, which is its result, is the highest stage in the evolution of mother-right; just as polygyny and the patriarchal family are the highest stages of the evolution of father-right or the agnatic system of kinship.

3. Culture Stage: the Patriarchate.—Just as gross hetairism was an offense to the religion in the first culture stage, so Amazonism was a shock to religion in the second. Hence arose a striving for a higher conception of social relations. It was the assertion of fatherhood which delivered the mind from natural appearances, and when this was successfully achieved, human existence was raised above the laws of material life. The principle of motherhood is common to all species of animal life, but man went beyond this in giving pre-eminence to the power of procreation, and thus became conscious of his higher vocation.

Polygyny versus Polyandry.—It is doubtful which is more harmful to the offspring, but it is almost certain that polygyny is far worse in its effects upon women and the home. As a rule neither is favored by women, in whom the passion of jealousy is very strongly developed. Polygyny is an offense against the feelings of women even of savage races. It is a noteworthy fact that among the monogamous savage races the position of woman is comparatively good, while on the other hand polygyny is in almost every way degrading to the female sex. Accordingly under the ideas and sentiments favoring the freedom and dignity of woman, both forms of marriage must yield to the monogamous. Polygamy must disappear as soon as growing development brings into

play permanent motives and fundamental forces. Among these forces is the idea of the procreative conditions entering into the conception of fatherhood, from which follows chastity on the part of the wife, as well as limited sexual liberty on the part of the husband. And out of this sprang ancestor worship, a powerful force in differentiating the monogamic household. Even in primitive times the character of the soul, the inward mysterious being of the father, was supposed to decide the character of the child.

The Influence of Economic Forces on Marriage and the Family.—Groose distinguishes two forms of the family: the individual family (Sonder familie) or the community of parents and children, living in a lasting and exclusive marriage relation, which is practically the only form known where Western European culture prevails; and the great family (Groos familie), which comprises not merely parents and children, but all descendants with their families, so far as they are not separated from it by marriage or otherwise. Examples of these are afforded by the Romans and Chinese. In each form of the family either the maternal or the paternal form of succession may exist, but succession does not necessarily involve the idea of authority, although paternal succession usually does carry with it the supremacy of the father.

The Family from an Economic Point of View.—From this cursory view of the evolution of marriage and the family, whether we take the stand that the race started with the monogamous marriage or that this was only attained after passing through various evolutionary stages, the crucial fact remains the same that monogamous marriage was founded on the biologic needs of man and woman and the prolonged dependent condition of

their offspring; and that it forms the inseparable trinity of father, mother, and child.

Again it would seem that the family in its simplest form creates its own economic condition. By recognizing the dependence of the weak upon the strong it creates the necessity for the responsible head to produce or in some way provide more substance than is needed for himself alone. This is an economic condition of the very highest importance and one which no other institution but that of the family or slavery can ensure.

CHAPTER II

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LAWS IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY AND ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

Divorce in Primitive Society; the Form of Marriage and Its Effect on Divorce; Ancient Codes of Marriage and Divorce; (1) *Stage of Evolution: Marriage and Divorce Laws of Ancient Civilizations; Marriage and Divorce among the Ancient Hebrews and the Mosiac Law; Marriage and Divorce among the Ancient Greeks;* (2) *Stage of Evolution of Marriage and Divorce Laws: Those of Ancient Rome;* (3) *Stage of Evolution of Marriage and Divorce Laws: Ecclesiastic and Canon Law; Rise of Ecclesiastic Marriage; Development of the Social Contract Theory;* (4) *Stage of Evolution of Marriage and Divorce Laws: The French Revolution of* 1792 *and the Civil Code of Napoleon; the Civil Code of Napoleon; the Reformation in England; Civil Marriage in New England.*

Man only is created in the image of God; therefore woman shall serve him and be his handmaid.—Canon Law.

The Law of England regards marriage as a contract. It differs from other contracts in this, that the rights, obligations or duties arising from it are not left entirely to be regulated by the agreement of the parties, but are to a certain extent matters of municipal regulation, over which the parties have no control by any declaration of their will.—Lord Robertson.

From the earliest period of the recorded history of England, it has always been the accepted doctrine that marriage as an institution is the keystone of the commonwealth; and the highest expression of morality.—Lord Bryce.

Divorce in Primitive Society.—Divorce is a social phenomenon almost as old as marriage, and as its counterpart cannot be considered separately. In the prelegal period marriage is often without ceremony and is restricted only by social custom. The husband and wife unite as a matter of choice and as freely separate. Marriage is a temporary convenience to be solved at the pleasure of either party. Where rude marriage ceremonies exist they are scarcely more than a symbol, indicating the beginning of domestic relations, such as eating together, sitting together beside the same fire, or performing jointly some household duty. As society advanced in culture, more permanent social, legal, and political forms were evolved, and the institution of the family shared in the general improvement.

In harmony with the general progress the family assumed a more permanent character without reference to the form in which it existed, and with the increase of regulative customs and ceremonies regarding marriage the conditions of separation became more restricted and more clearly defined and began to assume the nature of formal divorce. At first it may have been little more than a voluntary separation. When custom and law began to require publicity, they also began to establish methods of procedure. In the beginning it usually involved a symbolic act, which indicates the nature of the transaction, as the turning of the party out of doors or the throwing out of the clothes. Sometimes it was a mere proclamation before witnesses. Again it had to be settled by a council, either of the friends of the married pair or of the tribe; or it may have required the judicial action of the chief. By slow but well-defined processes it passed over in the more highly developed societies to trial by the courts and the writing of a "bill of divorce-

ment." Not however until we reach a stage of general culture, where the family became a permanent institution, with its ideals of life-long companionship, did divorce become a remedial measure for the readjustment of the legal and social status of those whose marriage relations had broken down.

With the rise of marriage by capture and purchase the wife became the chattel of her husband-owner and divorce became his sole prerogative. He might then do with her as he pleased, but he was refrained from the free exercise of his liberty by certain external considerations. Especially in the case of wife-purchase, there was always the danger of blood feuds with his wife's tribesmen if his treatment became too severe. Economic considerations at a very early date complicated matters; in the absence of more refined restraints his regard for his wife as a species of property became a matter of consequence. If he divorced her his interest in her ceased. Furthermore he was likely to suffer the loss of the price which he had paid for her, and in addition be compelled to return any property which she may have brought with her at the time of her acquisition.

Under further social progress, where wife-purchase was replaced by the payment of the "bride price" and the receipt of the marriage portion, divorce was attended with still greater loss. It often involved the loss of a fortune. Unless the divorce was for grave reasons, the husband was usually required to restore the dower and was in addition sometimes obliged to turn over all or a part of his own property, and not infrequently to suffer the loss of his children. Where the wife was accorded the privilege of leaving her husband, unless it was for serious offense on his part, she was usually compelled to leave behind her both dower and children. Difficulties

of self-support and disabilities of sex have always made the part of the wife more difficult and compelled her to endure much rather than leave her husband.

Thus as society arrived at a stage of greater stability, the relation of the permanence of the family to that stability is perceived, and an intelligent conservation in respect to divorce makes its appearance in many places. So property interests became an increasing factor in the stability of society, and marriage came to rest less upon sexual instincts than upon economic conditions. Thus powerful influences are exerted to check the freedom of divorce and to increase the stability of the family. As marriage grows to be a more permanent relation, death comes to terminate proportionately more marriages, and the number of divorces in proportion to marriage is diminished.

The Form of Marriage and Its Effects on Divorce.—As we have seen in a previous chapter the result of scientific criticism and recent research seems unmistakably to show that pairing has always been the *typical* form of human marriage. Considering the aberrations from the type says Howard, development has been in a circle. At the dawn of human history individual marriage prevailed, though the union was not always lasting. In the later stages of advancement, under the influence of property, social organization, and social distinctions, and the motives to which they give rise, various forms of polyandry and polygamy made their appearance, though monogamy as the type was never superseded. With the still further social progress has come the newest monogamy, which has become intolerant of the other forms and has practically excluded them from modern society.

It is perfectly clear just how each of these types of marriage would influence the form of divorce. In primi-

tive monogamy in which both marriage and divorce originated, and where the relation exhibited all of the degrees of duration, divorce would be quite as free as marriage and could be obtained by either party or by mutual consent. This is the logical result where marriage and divorce are purely *individualistic*. The rise of polyandry and polygamy naturally introduced restrictions on the part of the man or the woman in respect to the right of divorce.

Various conditions have operated to keep the controlling power in the hands of men, but the struggle of women to become free has marked the whole course of the monogamic institution of marriage. With the gradual emancipation of women and the attainment of greater equality, the right of women to divorce on the same footing as men must be conceded. As various coercive tendencies are removed and marriage becomes a matter of choice, equally free divorce will necessarily result.

It thus appears that modern developments are bringing us to the completion of the circle. As in the primitive marriage, the individual will remain free to enter or to leave the married state, but he will be guided in his choice by higher considerations, and because of other influences the union will become of much more enduring character and will tend to become permanent.

Ancient Codes of Marriage and Divorce.—From the earliest times marriage and divorce have been considered subject to the social regulation of the people. In all of the higher stages of civilization the ideal marriage has come to be considered that of life-long union of husband and wife. For many reasons this ideal has never been wholly realized in actual experience. The relations entered into at marriage frequently cease. In order to determine the rights of property, to provide for offspring,

and to define the status of the separated parties, society has been under the necessity of enacting rules and regulations. This has been the chief function of the law in regard to divorce. The laws of marriage and divorce have passed through five stages of evolution.

1. Stage of Evolution: Marriage and Divorce Laws of Ancient Civilizations.—In ancient times every nation was a law unto itself. Among the Babylonians and Egyptians woman was on an economic and therefore on a social and political equality with her husband, and marriage was a contractural relation.

The Babylonian marriage contracts required first of all the consent of the father, without which the marriage was null and void. The contract was drawn up by the father in the presence of the magistrate, to whom the father had taken the prospective couple, and in the presence of witnesses. The contracts contained details of property brought into the union by each party. The girl on her side brought in as her dowry property commensurate with her station in life, which may have included lands, house, furniture, her trousseau, slaves, or money. It should be noted that all that the bride brought in was her own absolute property, and no "Married Woman's Property Act" of the present day could have established her inalienable rights to her own belongings more effectually than these clay tablets dating back thirty centuries before our era. It was this dowry system that gave woman rights over her property and made of her an independent actor in her own affairs.

In the marriage contracts of the Babylonians the possibility of divorce was always foreseen and guarded against, and the very rigor of the conditions proclaims the essentially monogamous character of these people, but they supplemented their fundamentally monogamous mar-

riages with concubinage. The husband was recognized as the head of the household at the same time that the wife preserved full rights over her possessions, and only the children of the lawful wife were the legitimate heirs.

There is however a startling difference between the action which could be taken by the man and woman. The husband as supreme head of the household could turn to his wife and merely say: "Thou art not my wife," and then send her back to her father's house with the equivalent in money of the dowry he had received with her. Where the dowry was large it no doubt acted as a deterrent to any wanton act of divorce, as in addition to returning it to the wife in full, the husband was liable in certain cases to pay a fine as well. In case the wife had borne children, the mother brought up her children and was at liberty to marry again. In both cases of man and wife there was freedom of appeal to a decision of a properly constituted court, such as holds at the present day. Adultery on the part of the wife was punishable by death.

Marriage and Divorce among the Ancient Hebrews and the Mosaic Law.—This forms a very important epoch in the history of the human race, because not only of the great influence of the Hebrew law, but also of their contempt for woman, which was so indelibly to imprint itself upon both ecclesiastic and canon law. The ancient Hebrews exercised the patriarchal rights of life and death over their families.

In the Mosaic law[1] we note two things: the evident tendency to regard women as mere property, to be disposed of very much as one would a slave; and also a matter of pride, which seems to have made the ancient Hebrews very sensitive about turning these wives over

[1] *Deut.* 24, 1–4.

to someone else even when they had gotten tired of them. This resulted in the formation of plural marriages. Among the ancient Hebrews marriage was not a religious ordinance, and neither in the Old Testament or in the Talmud is it treated as such.

The Mosaic law, as contained in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus, sets forth the impediments to lawful marriage, such as it was under the Roman Empire and continues to be to-day.

The right of the husband to put away his wife was freely conceded to him by the Jewish divorce law; he was not even required to assign a cause upon which his action was based. It was a personal matter. The formal bill of divorcement appears to have been introduced by Moses for the protection of women, and this law of divorce[1] continued to be accepted by the Hebrews until the eleventh century. At a later period the right of divorce by women was not unknown among the Jews, but it was not until the eleventh century, when the wife became capable of owning property of her own and acquired an independent legal personality, that the Hebrew wife also became capable of consenting to a divorce and to have an equal right to the children born of the marriage.

Marriage and Divorce among the Ancient Greeks.— As we are indebted to the Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations for establishing the economic equality of woman, the dignity of womanhood, and the reverence for motherhood, so we are indebted to the Greeks for the establishment of monogamy as the only legal form of marriage, which has had an inestimable influence on the elevation of both sexes.

Marriage was generally contracted at the divine altars

[1] *Deut.* 24, 1–2.

and confirmed by oaths. The assistance of a priest was not essential, but as Musonius said: "Marriage stands under the protection of the great and powerful gods." Before marriage was solemnized the gods were consulted and their assistance was implored by prayers and sacrifices. Plato affirmed the necessity for religious ceremonies.

One of the great objects of monogamy must have been to keep the Greek race pure, for Greek children were only admitted to the rights of citizens if they were born of free-born Athenian parents. Marrying outside the state was thus strictly prohibited. Unhappily with the legalization of monogamy there was *pari passu* the legalization of prostitution.

In Sparta, which was surrounded by large and hostile states so that Spartans had to be in a constant state of preparedness, their whole constitution was directed to meeting this necessity. The Spartans had to be a race of warriors and it was therefore necessary that women should be fitted to give birth to men who could fight. These men had to be strong and brave and ready to sacrifice everything to the state. Believing as they did that children inherited the characteristics of the mother rather than those of the father, the Spartans aimed above all to secure these qualities in their women. All of their education was directed to the one object of preparing them to be mothers of a hardy race.

Every Spartan girl was expected to marry, and the age of marriage was carefully fixed by the state. It was recognized that children of girl and boy parents could not be strong nor attain the height of physical development which the needs of the state demanded. Adultery we are told was almost unknown in Sparta and divorce was non-existent.

The causes of divorce among the Greeks were eight: adultery of either husband or wife; cruel or inhuman treatment endangering either health or life; an attempt by either spouse to kill the other; threat to kill; condemnation or imprisonment of either spouse for an infamous, degrading crime; desertion; and the incurable impotence of either party. Both parties were free to remarry, but the wife was compelled to wait until a full year had elapsed from the time of the granting of the decree before contracting a new marriage.

If the wife was the successful suitor she could recover all of her dowry, and in some instances the husband was obliged to pay alimony to his wife during the remainder of her life or until her remarriage. If the parties had children, such of them who were so young as to need a mother's care were temporarily awarded to her care, even though she had been declared the guilty party.

2. Stage of Evolution of Marriage and Divorce Laws: Those of Ancient Rome.—This second is the most important stage of marriage and divorce legislation, for in the words of Mr. Bryce: "The Romans built up the marriage laws of the civilized world."

The two fundamental factors which shaped the Roman laws were first that the Roman was the typical patriarchal family, in which the power of the head of the family was absolute; he could imprison, sell, or kill his children, under the express laws of the Twelve Tables." "All in the house," says Momsen, "were destitute of legal rights; the wife and child no less than the bullock and the slave." Even the full grown sons and their children had to submit to the housefather's will. The consent of the *paterfamilias* was indispensable to the marriage of the children's sons and daughters alike. This vast authority we now know was based on religious

grounds, and the introduction of a new religion with higher conceptions of human rights particularly contributed to its downfall. Second: since the great jurisconsults of the Roman Empire were not Roman but Greek lawyers, we can see how their laws would be molded by Greek thought and tradition.

By the earlier form of Roman marriage and that which prevailed among the patrician and higher classes the wife passed absolutely into the power of her husband; she became a member of his family and was legally his daughter and the sister of her own children. Her property became her husband's and he apparently could exercise over her all the power of a Roman father, except that of selling her into slavery.

From the time of Romulus divorce seems to have been regulated by law. The law of Romulus permitted the husband to repudiate his wife for three causes: adultery, preparing poisons, and the falsification of keys.

Here as everywhere divorce conformed to the nature of marriage. Divorce was established by the law in the interests of woman. As the husband had the power of life and death over his wife, the law stepped in at an early date and provided that instead of killing her when he had tired of her, when she had asserted her independence, or had committed adultery, he might divorce her.

At the beginning of the Christian era we find that all of the older forms of marriage, with their one-sided right of separation, had been practically superseded by free contract which placed the husband and wife on an equal footing, so that marriage became a simple private agreement. The wife did not pass under the power of her husband, but retained the full control of her property, being in this regard placed, as it were, at her husband's

side, while divorce became a formless, private transaction, to which the woman was as freely entitled as the man.

Justin says: "If marriages are made by mutual affection, it is only right that when that affection no longer exists they should be dissoluble by mutual consent. And so far from divorce being dishonorable, all agreements between the parties forbidding the right of divorce were held void and an infringement of the rule 'that marriage ought to be free.' To compel an unwilling party to remain married was as unthinkable to the Roman as to compel an unwilling party to enter into marriage. Compulsion in any form is utterly opposed to a connection which springs from free choice and is sustained by affection only."

No judicial or other inquiry into the cause of divorce was necessary. All that was required was that it should be formal and final. An exception to this rule arose when the parties could not come to terms about the future of the children or the division of property.

"These words," says Mr. Bryce, "have an especial interest as being the last words of ancient civilization, before christianity began to influence legislation. They have in them much that is elevated, much that is attractive. They embody the doctrines which after an interval of many centuries have again begun to be preached with the fervor of conviction to the modern world, especially in England and the United States; and especially by those who think that the greatest step toward progress is to be found in what is called the emancipation of women."

3. Stage of Evolution of Marriage and Divorce Laws: Ecclesiastic and Canon Law.—Negatively it was the later law of Rome which had most to do with shaping

the opinions of the Christian fathers in regard to the nature of marriage and divorce. The moral and social results of this excessive freedom of divorce during the latter part of the Republic and the early Roman Empire was such a laxity of the marriage bonds as to become scandalous. Marriage became unpopular. A recent historian has declared that it was almost ended by divorce.

Proper restraints would have lessened the evil, but the character of the law was very far from being its sole, or even its primary cause. "In a purer state of public opinion," observes Lecky, "a very wide latitude of divorce might probably have been allowed both parties without any very serious consequences. A vast wave of corruption had flowed in upon Rome, and under any system of law it would have penetrated into domestic life. Laws prohibiting all divorce have never secured the purity of married life in ages of great corruption; nor did the latitude which was accorded in ancient Rome prevent the existence of a very large amount of female virtue.

It is, however, not surprising, that the founders of the Christian church should have regarded the laxity of the marriage bond as the primary cause of the degeneration of Roman society. From the beginning an earnest effort was made to restrain, so far as possible, the liberty of separation, and to prohibit the persons separated on proper grounds from contracting further marriage.

According to St. Augustine, adultery is the only scriptural grounds for separation—but this does not dissolve the marriage bond. Moreover, he says those who follow the letter of Matthew's text would for this offense allow man, but not the woman, the right of repudiation. This he justly reproaches as violation of one

of the great principles of the Christian law, the equality of the wedded pair.

St. Augustine contended that the question of divorce was not clearly determined by the words of Christ; but there can be no mistake in the attitude of the church of Rome to-day on this subject. It positively holds that no human power can dissolve a marriage when ratified and consummated between baptized persons.

This third stage of evolution is condensed in the Canon law, promulgated in the sixteenth century, when for the first time in the history of the world marriage was declared to be indissoluble, on the grounds that marriage was a sacrament. This doctrine has remained up to the present time that of the Roman church, divorce from bed and board alone being permitted. Separation may be allowed in certain cases, but absolute divorce never!

The dogmas of the Canon law concerning woman's inferiority and consequent subjugation to man have from that day to this powerfully shaped public opinion and legislation throughout the entire civilized world on the subject of marriage and divorce.

Rise of Ecclesiastic Marriage.—It is a noteworthy fact that the early church accepted and sanctioned the existing temporal forms of marriage. Her energies were directed mainly to enforcing her own rules relating to marriage disabilities, such as those arising from affinity or nearness of kin, to devising restraints upon the freedom of divorce and second marriages, and to administering the matrimonial judicature. The existing legal character and the popular forms of betrothal and nuptials were not disturbed.

The only innovation effected by the primitive church was wholly of a religious nature. Hence from the first century onward we find evidences of a priestly benedic-

tion in connection with the betrothal and probably with the nuptials. During the first three or four centuries it is probable that marriages were not usually celebrated in a church. The betrothal and nuptial benediction were not essential to a valid marriage; however important it might have been from a religious point of view. Then followed the introduction of the bride mass—merely an invocation of the divine blessing upon the newly married pair and has no legal significance.

In the tenth century we find that marriage was no longer a strictly private transaction, but took place before the church door, in the presence of the priest, who participated in the ceremony. The couple then entered the church and had the bride mass and the second benediction.

The next step was accomplished in the thirteenth century, when marriage was usually celebrated by the priest, and not merely in his presence. Not until this time does the priest appear with authority, as one especially qualified by his religious office to solemnize the nuptials.

This stage Professor Summer regards as "the result of the astounding movement in the thirteenth century, by which the church remodeled all the ideals and institutions of the age; and integrated all social interests into a system, of which it made itself the central and controlling authority."

The final stage in ecclesiastic domination came with the Canon law, which supplemented and eliminated the secular jurisdiction and alone regulated marriage in Christian Europe, and only awaited a complete development of the dogma of the sacrament of marriage.

Hieronymus says: "At the same time the doctrine of the sacrament of marriage was growing up and being

developed by Tertullian, St. Augustine, and others, although it was not recognized by the church as a dogma until the sixteenth century."

The Council of Trent in 1563 declared marriage a sacrament of the church and placed the whole subject under ecclesiastic jurisdiction, and marriage was no longer valid except when administered according to the rites of the church. It was from St. Paul's words:[1] "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh," that the dogma that marriage was a sacrament was gradually evolved.

Development of the Social Contract Theory.—Luther's conception of marriage is determinative for Protestant thought. He did not share in the mediæval misogyny, nor did he hold the sacramental views of marriage. He considered marriage pure and the normal relation of the sexes. Natural impulses, he held, were divinely implanted and their legitimate function a social duty. He denied that marriage and the church have anything in common. "Marriage is to be regarded as an act of free will by those who participate in it. It does not concern the church. Therefore know that marriage is an external thing, as any other worldly transaction." Yet so high was his estimate of the character of marriage that he refers to it as a sacrament. "An external holy symbol of the greatest, holiest, worthiest, noblest thing that has ever been, or ever can be; the union of the human and divine in Christ." While marriage certainly ceased to be thought of as a sacrament, it continued to be regarded by Protestants as a divine institution; hence sacerdotal nuptials remained as indispensable as ever.

While the reformers abolished the sacramental con-

[1] *Ephes.*, v, 32.

ception of marriage and therefore its indissolubility, they still considered that there was something divine in it, and so made its dissolution difficult. The great step in advance effected by the Reformation was to lay the foundation for a social revolution and the right of the people to civil and religious liberty, to show the necessity for the separation of the Church and State and the recognized right of the temporal law maker in the regulation of all laws affecting marriage and its dissolution, as in the highest interest of the family and the State.

Under the Canon law and the Reformation, the husband was regarded as the "head" to whom the wife owed unquestioning obedience, in return for a protection and love which were not always forthcoming. By virtue of his divine right and superiority the husband had the right of chastising and imprisoning his wife, and the wife was practically without a remedy. The superior courts of all countries refused even to grant a wife a separation on the grounds of the husband's adultery alone; "for the wife had not right to inquire into the conduct of her superior, whom she ought to presume to be chaste. She was expected to regard the evil manners and ill-treatment of her husband as 'God's will,' and a cross which she must bear for the expiation of her sins. For the sin in fact of being a woman."

The legalization of the husband's adultery, which reigned so long in Europe and still obtains in England, is the fruit of the Canon law. The wife was also expected to observe purity before marriage, which was not expected of the husband. If at any time before marriage she had committed an indiscretion, her husband could obtain a dissolution of the marriage.

The position of woman under the Canon law, and it was not greatly improved by the Reformation, was ex-

pressed by Brouwer in the metaphor: "The husband is the soul and the wife is the body." The property which the husband has in the wife, her legal subjection to him, and the right of chastisement, together with the property of the wife passing into the absolute control of her husband, were freely allowed by the Roman and Protestant church laws. Under the Canon law the wife had practically no protection against her husband's ill-treatment, for the right of chastisement was maintained in all of its vigor. Brouwer in advocating the more humane treatment of women was compelled to rely upon Pagan writers such as Cato and Marcus Aurelius for laws which Christianity did not appear to allow.

The Canon law was the very generally accepted law on marriage and divorce down to 1803, when the Civil Code of Napoleon became the law of France, and very greatly influenced the legislation of the European states.

4. Stage of Evolution of Marriage and Divorce Laws: The French Revolution of 1792 and the Civil Code of Napoleon.—Until this time the history of divorce is that of gradual interpretation and extension of the laws to meet the practical exigencies of life, and the development of a strong movement attempting to discard all efforts to base the laws of divorce upon scriptural texts.

It was the French Revolution which gave an alteration of the opinion that marriage was a sacrament. The constitution of September 3, 1791, declares in its seventh article, title ii: "La loi ne considère le marriage que comme contract civil. Le pouvoir lègislatif établira pour tous les habitants, sans distinction, le mode par lequel les naissances, marriages, et décés serent constatés et il designera les officiers publics qui en recevront les actes." To this obligatory civil, a sacramental benediction may be added if the parties think proper.

The French Revolution thus re-enacted the ancient law of the Franks, which was the Roman law and had been in force until it was displaced by the Canon law—the same law which has always been and still is in force in Switzerland. The French Revolution proclaimed that men and women had rights as well as duties. Marriage was again declared to be a civil contract, in which the husband and wife were equal partners, and its registration, which had hitherto been in the hands of the priests, was placed in the hands of civil officials.

So civil marriage and civil registration were again established, and absolute divorce was granted. Absolute dissolution of the bonds of wedlock was authorized at the mutual desire of both husband and wife, for incompatibility of temperament on the part of either spouse, and for seven other specified causes. The natural result was a vast number of decrees.

The Civil Code of Napoleon.—When Napoleon entrusted the preparation of his famous *civil code* to the lawyers it was found that most of them returned to the old casuistic preference for judicial separation and the public inquiry into the cause of divorce, for they naturally desired to recover the control of litigation which had for so long a time been the source of profit and power.

It was mainly owing to the influence of Napoleon that the fundamental principles of the divorce laws of the Revolution, divorce by mutual consent, was retained in the code, because divorce by mutual consent for incompatibility of temperament was in his opinion essential to marital happiness. Napoleon was a strong upholder of the integrity and morality of the family, which he looked upon as all rulers have looked upon it, as a political and military institution, which can be more easily ruled where the husband is the absolute head. It

can scarcely be contended that he ever feared that either morality or the family would suffer by liberal divorce laws. By allowing divorce by mutual consent and for cruelty, and by advocating divorce for incompatibility, even where the wife alone desired it, Napoleon did more for married women than had ever been done for them since the Roman times, although in other respects he placed wives in subjection to their husbands. In the code, as it was promulgated in 1803, the lawyers and Roman Catholics succeeded in retaining a great deal of the Canon law, and in hedging around divorce as many difficulties and delays as possible. Beside divorce by mutual consent, divorce was allowed for adultery, cruelty, and condemnation for certain crimes. Incompatibility was no longer recognized; mutual consent was admitted under certain limitations; and the whole number of specified causes was limited to five. The controvertibility of judicial separation into divorce was asserted and the dogma of the indissolubility of marriage had received its deathblow.

The liberal policy of France as expressed in the Code of Napoleon has undoubtedly had a powerful influence on the extension of civil marriage and divorce throughout Europe, whereas in America the modern statute maker has recovered and passed beyond the point gained by the Roman Imperial institutions between Augustus and Justinian. The right of society to deal frankly with the province of marriage and divorce must be conceded. To determine the proper character and sphere of legislation is a very different thing.

The Reformation in England.—When England separated from the church of Rome the Canon law was allowed to remain in force in the ecclesiastic courts, although its authority was restricted and its study at the universities was forbidden.

In 1549 Henry VIII appointed a Commission to roughhew the Canon law. This Commission consisted of Archbishop Cranmer, Latimer, and other eminent divines and lawyers, who drew up the famous reforms of ecclesiastic laws. By its provision divorce was to be granted by the ecclesiastic courts on the grounds of adultery, desertion, long absence, cruelty, and the attempt of one spouse on the life of the other, or deadly hatred between the spouses. Separation from bed and board was to be abolished. Husband and wife were placed upon the same footing; the innocent party was allowed to marry while the guilty party was subjected to the usual drastic penalties, such as banishment. This proposed law was based on the Canon law and that of the Reformation, and had been put into practice in other countries, but all of this great and long labor became of non-effect becaus of the King's death. Thus by accident England failed to adopt any law of divorce at all, and by a strange irony the Catholic Canon law was allowed to quietly resume its authority in a Protestant country.

In ancient times the men of the law in England were persons in holy orders, and the judges were originally abbots, bishops, deans, canons, and archdeacons. As late as 1857 the clergy in their ecclesiastic courts had exclusive jurisdiction of matrimonial causes. They administered the Canon law of the Western church affecting marriage, and ruled that marriage lawfully made and according to the ordinances of matrimony can by no means be dissolved during the lives of the parties.

By the passage of the divorce act of 1857 the jurisdiction in matrimonial causes was transferred to a new civil tribunal and absolute divorce was sanctioned, with the permission to remarry on the proof of adultery on the part of the wife, or adultery *and* cruelty on the part of

the husband. The civil courts of England have never considered marriage as a sacrament or religious ordinance, holding that the dogma and precepts of Christianity do not affect the civil status of marriage, but simply add to it a religious character. In this respect the law of England is in harmony with the attitude of the primitive church.

Civil Marriage in New England.—Since the thirteenth century the English marriage had been in a chaotic state. All of this was changed in the Colonies. In place of confusion and complexity we find simplicity. In New England particularly, civil rights, civil registration, and a uniform theory of marriage tended to prevent manifold evils which grew out of a lax or uncertain law.

The conception of wedlock as it existed there from the beginning was identical with that which later found expression in the writings of Milton and the legislation of Cromwell. Marriage was declared not to be a sacrament but a civil contract, in which the intervention of a priest was unnecessary and out of place. The civil celebration in New England was supposed to have been introduced by the Puritans directly out of Holland. The old Colony also made careful provision for registration.

In Massachusetts the first order of the General Court was published in 1639. The intention was that the contemplated marriage be thrice published: at a divine service on a Sabbath, in a town-meeting or at a public lecture, and in both the towns where both the parties or either of them resided. Later it became customary for the town clerk or his deputy to publish the banns on a Sunday, after the blessing on the evening service was pronounced.

CHAPTER III

VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE MODERN DIVORCE PROBLEM

The Divorce Act of 1857*; the Present English Divorce Laws; the German Imperial Code; Divorce in the American Colonies; the Divorce Laws in the United States; the Essentials to Marriage; Divorce Legislation; Interstate Comity; Divorce Statistics for the United States; Causation of the Increase of Divorce, and the Disintegration of the Family; the Readjustment of the Family to Changed Economic Conditions; the Great Industrial Revolution of the* 19*th Century; the Stress of Economic Life; Artificial Standards of Living; the Passing of the Economic Function of the Family; the Economic Emancipation of Women; the Ethical Readjustments.*

. There is abundant evidence that marriage has upon the whole, been more durable in proportion as the human race has risen to higher degrees of cultivation; and that a certain amount of civilization is an essential condition of the formation of life-long unions.—WESTERMARCK.

The evident trend of modern legislation is toward uniformity among the nations of Christendom on the vital subjects of marriage and divorce. A study of the marriage laws of the world has also brought the happy conviction that the wholesome view of marriage, as the union of one man and one woman for life to the exclusion of all others, is the one triumphant fact of human history which can never lose its prestige; and that everywhere woman is more and more being allowed

her natural place in the community as man's equal and associate. All the legislation of the past century has elevated men by giving more justice to women.

The Divorce Act of 1857.—Following the Civil Code of Napoleon which was promulgated in 1803, the next most important step forward toward equity in divorce legislation was the English Divorce Act of 1857.

The principal cause of this divorce act was the widespread discontent at the ecclesiastic courts, which had an extensive jurisdiction over matrimonial causes, etc. By the passage of this act the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastic court was taken away and divorce was placed under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The husband was entitled to divorce the wife on the grounds of her adultery and to sue the corespondent for damages. The wife, however, could only obtain a divorce when she could prove in addition to her husband's adultery, his desertion, cruelty, bigamy, or incest, while she had no corresponding action for damages. Beside this, judicial separation and nullity of marriage could be obtained by either spouse, upon grounds laid down in the Canon law.

Almost the only champion of indissolubility was Mr. Gladstone, who however gave his opinion under protest, as not being relevant to the practical question. His one concern on the religious aspect was that the Church laws should not be touched, and he desired that a civil law of divorce and remarriage should be provided that did not touch religion at all, with regard to the indissolubility of marriage. Mr. Gladstone said: "Let me observe that we have too much dogmatism. The Gospels were intended to benefit humanity, not by means of commands and forms in a rigid shape, but rather by the infusion of a new spirit into the precepts of the law.

Adultery as the sole cause for divorce is a most arbitrary rule. There are many causes for divorce far more fatal to the great obligations of marriage, as disease, crime, idiocy, crime involving imprisonment for life. He insisted on the importance of the study of modern legislation upon the subject, so that the law might be placed on the basis of broad experience instead of upon fashionable opinions which were temporary and local. They ought to elevate their vision and take less contracted views of the operations of the human mind than they were apt to do, from a defect he feared which was inherent in their natural dispositions; a defect which prevented them from assuming anything except what chanced to be dreamt of in their philosophy."

It was, however, in the interests of women that strenuous attempts were made by Mr. Gladstone and others to amend the Bill in Committee, and to extend the narrow grounds upon which divorce in it were based.

Mr. Drummond, who was indefatigable in attempting to improve the lot of women, said: "Women have a right to object to the competence of a tribunal composed of Members of Parliament, who judged women according to their own estimate, and for their own purposes; and the members of this House are very much in the position of the Turks, legislating for the inhabitants of the seraglio. If adultery, as many contend, dissolved marriage, how many in this House are married?"

Says Bentham: "To live under the perpetual authority of a man you hate, is of itself a state of slavery, but to be compelled to submit to his embraces is a misfortune too great even for slavery itself.

"As to what would become of the children in the case of divorce, their education would suffer less than it would have done, from domestic discords and hatreds."

The Present English Divorce Laws.—In England a man can divorce his wife if he can prove to the satisfaction of the judge and jury that she has misconducted herself on a single occasion. The English wife, on the other hand, cannot divorce her husband even though he is living in open adultery. In order to free herself she is obliged to prove that in addition to unfaithfulness he has also been guilty of cruelty, or else that he has willfully deserted her for more than two years. The communication of venereal disease, when the husband knows of his condition, is an act of cruelty. All the redress she is able to obtain for the infidelity of her husband, unaccompanied by cruelty or desertion, is a separation order from the magistrate.

As a rule, a separation order allows the wife from one-third to one-fourth of her husband's income, though whether she will ever receive it is problematic. At the same time it stops her forever afterward from suing for divorce, and it prevents both husband and wife from remarrying. A husband guilty of unfaithfulness, plus cruelty or desertion, is divorced and not permitted to remarry.

The Act permitting and regulating the separation orders was passed in 1895. It has been estimated that during the first thirteen years of its operation it has been responsible for throwing upon the world from 150,000 to 200,000 persons, each of whom, in the words of a great English lawyer, is "a potential adulterer, without any legal family ties or any possibility of contracting them, and licensed by law to indulge his or her passions with impunity."

The virulence of the late Women's Suffrage campaign in England was largely due to the inferior status of woman under the present laws, especially the divorce

laws, with their maintenance of a double standard of morals.

The effect of the suffrage movement has not only been apparent in the "divorce law reform proposals," but also for the demand that is being made for some reform in the marriage service that will make it conform to modern ideas. Many advanced English women strongly object to the idea of being given to any man, and they also protest against certain phrases of the service that seem to convey the idea of woman's subjection to man.

The German Imperial Civil Code.—In 1876 for the first time was provided a Governmental regulation of marriage, which became law on January 1, 1900. This has been described by Professor Maitland as "the most carefully considered statement of a nation's law that the world has ever seen." Marriage is treated as a civil contract, to which the State is always an added party.

A marriage is concluded by the parties appearing together before a registrar and declaring in the presence of two witnesses their intention of becoming husband and wife. The consent of the father is always necessary before the age of twenty-one. The right to determine all matters affecting the common conjugal life belongs to the husband; however, if the decision of the husband is an abuse, and not a reasonable exercise of his right, the wife is not bound to accept his decision.

The wife has absolute power to deal with her separate property as though she were a single woman. A wife's separate property includes also that which she has accumulated by her industry or in the course of a separate business conducted by her.

Either spouse may petition for divorce on the ground of adultery and five other grounds, the guilty party being obliged to provide maintenance for the innocent one,

in so far as he or she is unable to provide for himself or herself. The maintenance is provided by a money annuity, payable quarterly in advance. In some cases a bond or security must be furnished for the performance of this duty, which is extinguished on the re-marriage of the other party. Both husband and wife must contribute toward the maintenance of the children.

In recent years, while the marriage rate has remained stationary, the divorce rate has taken a sudden upward turn, adultery on the part of the husband being the leading cause. While divorce is easy to obtain, it is looked upon as the greatest disgrace and, guilty or innocent, the mere fact that he has been a party in a divorce case is sufficient to ruin a professional man's career. An officer, for instance, who has divorced his wife is practically obliged to resign.

Divorce in the American Colonies.—The colonists who founded the various states from the time of Elizabeth took with them the common law of England, but being Protestants and having no established church or episcopal courts, the ecclesiastic or Canon law of England was not followed.

Marriage was a civil contract, usually entered into before a magistrate. By the Puritan legislation of New England the right of divorce was recognized, but rarely exercised. The attitude of the Puritans toward the Canon law may be expressed in the words of an American historian: "Divorce from bed and board, the separate maintenance without the dissolution of the marriage contract, an anomaly in Protestant legislation; the punishment of the innocent more than the guilty, was utterly abhorrent to their principles."

In the Southern colonies, however, since the church courts were never established and as they had not

assigned the jurisdiction in question to any other body, it followed that there was no tribunal competent to decree divorce or separation. Separation by mutual consent or on account of bad conduct did exist, as it always does in any society.

The Divorce Laws in the United States.—After the United States had obtained her independence in 1782, divorce by private statute continued in practice for more than half a century in the majority of the State legislatures, in which the exclusive power over divorce was vested by the American constitution. Gradually, however, the grounds for divorce began to be defined by their legislatures, and the ordinary courts or courts of chancery were granted jurisdiction.

While, as we have seen, the marriage laws in the several States originated from the law on the subject as it had existed in England at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as subsequently modified by State legislation and judicial interpretation, the laws of divorce as they exist in the several States are entirely of local creation.

The grounds for divorce vary greatly in the different States, the principal ones being adultery, cruelty, desertion, insanity, and other serious diseases and incapacities, such as impotence, habitual drunkenness; irreconcilable differences between the parties, such as long absence, refusal to perform the marital duties, gross misbehavior repugnant to the marriage contract, and violent and ungovernable temper.

The United States in its Federal capacity has no single system of marriage or divorce laws applicable to all of the States and territories. The purpose of the Constitution of the United States is to maintain by its Federal structure a strong national government, while recogniz-

ing each of the States which make up the federation, so far as is consistent with the motive of the Union, sovereign commonwealths. So there are forty-eight separate governments, each making its own domestic laws.

The Essentials to Marriage.—There are three requisites to a lawful marriage in all the States and territories in the United States: (1) That the marriage must be monogamous; (2) that the parties must be competent; (3) that there must be free consent on the part of both contracting parties.

Divorce Legislation.—Regardless of what the statutes are, persons whose marital relations have become intolerable have ultimately found a way of release from them. Where divorce is forbidden recourse is often had to annulment on some technical ground, and the decree of nullity becomes practically the equivalent of divorce proper. This is well illustrated by the mediæval practices in which the prohibited degree of relationship, as prescribed by the Canon law, provided ample means of escape. Lecky cites a case from Coke, "in which a marriage was pronounced null because the husband had stood god-father to the cousin of his wife."[1]

Where statutory provision is made for divorce, either the necessary or the most feasible is utilized. For example, while almost 60 per cent. of all divorces granted in the United States during a period of forty years were granted on the grounds of cruelty and desertion, in New York State all were granted for adultery. The explanation of this lies in the fact that in New York adultery is the only legal cause for divorce. Chancellor Kent, after a long experience on the bench of that state, said that he believed adultery was committed for the very purpose of obtaining divorce.

[1] Democracy and Liberty, vol. I, p. 194.

The same philosophy applies to the State of South Carolina, where *no* divorces are granted, but we are not left to theory as to the real facts of the case. South Carolina has found it necessary to regulate by law the proportion of his property which a married man may give to the woman with whom he has been living in open violation of the law.

Bishop says of the practice of Connecticut, that notwithstanding the liberty of divorce or in consequence of it, there is no State in the Union in which domestic felicity or purity, unblemished morals, and matrimonial concord more abound than in this very State.

From South Carolina, which grants no absolute divorce, to New Hampshire, which grants it on fourteen different grounds, there is no possible experiment which has been left untried and no element of confusion which has been omitted. You find one sovereign State which refuses to recognize a divorce granted in another sovereign State. You find a man who has been divorced by his wife in Ohio, and has subsequently re-married, arrested and convicted of bigamy in New York. You find a full circuit of diversity on almost every point of practice, procedure, the rules of evidence, alimony, the question of re-marriage, and the period necessary to establish a legal residence.

Interstate Comity.—The regulation of marriage and divorce is one of the most important domestic concerns which remain within the jurisdiction of a state. There must be either interstate comity or else an amendment to the Constitution of the United States by which, as in Germany and Switzerland, the laws of marriage and divorce shall come under Federal control. As Wharton points out in his "Conflict of Laws," "Marriage is not merely a contract, but an international institution of Christendom."

Divorce Statistics in the United States.—The facts have been ascertained and very carefully tabulated by the Commissioner of Labor and the Census Bureau for a period of forty years, from 1876 to 1906, the statistics showing a progressive and very marked increase. From a study of the table made to determine the ratio between marriage and divorce rates, it is found that the ratio of divorce to marriage is increasing constantly and at a three-fold rate.

The divorce rate in the twenty-year period from 1887 to 1906 was one divorce granted to every fifteen marriages. The evidence tends to show that at the present time (previous to the declaration of war) one divorce occurs in every twelve marriages.

In 1905 in France the number of divorces had increased to 26 per hundred thousand of population; at that time the third highest divorce rate in Europe, being exceeded only by the rate of Switzerland and Saxony. And in the same year in Paris it was shown that every 17th marriage ended in divorce. Excepting Japan, the divorce rate is higher in the United Stated than any other country in the world.

Almost two-thirds, or 66 per cent., of the divorces are granted to the wife; twice as many being obtained by the wife as by the husband. Another fact brought out was that divorces usually reach their maximum in the fifth year of married life. It is perhaps significant that drunkenness as the cause of divorce reaches its maximum between the twentieth and twenty-fifth years of married life. Of the cases of separation, the greatest number have occurred in the first and second years; at the end of the fifth year more than one-half of the total number of separations have taken place.

Causation of the Increase of Divorce and the Disintegration of the Family.—In proportion to the rapid

increase of divorce in the last fifty years, especially, this subject has engaged the attention of theologians, statesmen, and social economists, with the result that two very different interpretations have been given of this phenomenon. To a large group of thinkers who reason more or less deductively from certain assumed premises, the present divorce situation indicates that the family is undergoing a rapid process of disintegration, which seriously endangers its permanent existence. They regard the divorce movement as an integral part of a general trend of social degeneration, which threatens the family, together with certain other social institutions with ultimate extinction.

To a smaller but rapidly increasing number, this analysis of the situation is unsatisfactory; they wish to go a little deeper into the question by the use of inductive methods. In other words they regard these phenomena as the result of environmental changes caused by the readjustment of society to the new basis of modern civilization, in other words the increasing divorce rate is the result of transition due to progress. Investigations may reveal the fact that the family of to-day is not internally coherent, and with the lessening of many of the former restraints inherent in the patriarchal theory of the family and the sacramental idea of marriage, together with the removal of some of the external props supplied by former social and economic conditions, the family is simply falling apart because it lacks moral and spiritual cohesion. To this latter group belongs the social economist.

As we have already seen, the institution of the family, as it now exists, is the product of a slow and gradual evolution. Marriage is the legal sanction of the social custom of the family. It is the institutionalizing of

those forms of sexual intercourse between men and women which have existed everywhere in human society. We have further seen that human society followed no arbitrarily formed program for its development, but proceeded by natural laws of social evolution. The recognition of these fundamental principles of human development opens the social realm to scientific study.

On this basis the institution of the family rests on the inherent necessities of human nature, it has always existed in the form best suited to the needs of that particular stage of development of the human race, and the general tendency is toward permanent monogamy. That the marriage of one man and one woman is a life-long union is the ultimate form toward which the long process of the ages is surely tending; then we shall be fortified against any temporary aberration in which the current seems to be deflected from its course.

Divorce is the result and not the cause of the break-up of the family. In an increasing number of instances marital relations have ceased to exist between persons legally united. Mutual respect and affection, essential elements of valid marriages, are absent; and every tie upon which the ecclesiastic and civil law placed its sanction has been severed. Estrangement of husband and wife often leads to separation; if there are children, as a rule, they go to live, with one of the parents or some other relative, seldom becoming wards of the State. In such cases as these the family has no actual, but only a legal, existence.

The Readjustment of the Family to Changed Economic Conditions.—Any scientific study of the causes of the great increase in the divorce rate since the Civil War, and more especially in the last two decades of that time, must be based upon a consideration of the various eco-

nomic conditions which have revolutionized industry and all of our social institutions. (1) The industrial revolution; (2) the individual strain and wreckage caused by the high-keyed tension; (3) artificial standards of living; (4) the passing of the function of the family as an economic unit; (5) the economic emancipation of woman; (6) ethical readjustments.

1. The Great Industrial Revolution of the Nineteenth Century.—This has been of the greatest possible significance. The wonderful inventive genius which has introduced machinery into the field of economic production has resulted in the most radical changes throughout the entire industrial world. Existing industries have been completely transformed and very many new ones have been created. The substitution of mechanical for physical power has caused a rearrangement of the forces of production and a redistribution of the population. It has built the modern industrial cities. The increased productivity of capital and labor has made possible the rapid accumulation of wealth. These revolutionary changes in economic conditions have complicated every form of social activity and created a multitude of new problems, not the least of these being the upheaval of the family, together with all of our social institutions.

Turning to concrete facts we find that this period, in which the most marvelous development of material resources has taken place in the United States, practically coincides with the period of rapid increase of the divorce rate.

2. The Stress of Modern Economic Life.—With this vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of a small minority, and the springing up of our great industrial cities, which have acted as magnets to the residents of our rural population, there has resulted a very alarming

increase in the cost of living. It inevitably followed that the inhabitants of the United States, who sprang for the most part from the very well-to-do, intelligent upper middle classes of Great Britain, from being one great heterogeneous class, again became divided by sharp class distinctions, based on their financial standing, into the moneyed aristocracy; the tenement population, representing our poverty-stricken class who eventually become the wards of the state; and the vast middle class, always the backbone of any great civilization, whose financial condition ranged from those who can by rigid economy just make ends meet, to the well-to-do of the professional and merchant classes.

The very fact that a man of the lower middle class could raise himself by his own individual efforts to a position of influence and wealth naturally caused him to steer clear of all handicaps, of which a wife and family were not the least. So the path of advance became strewed with social wreckage, increased prostitution, insanity, suicide, and crime. Within the family these same conditions of life, which strain the mental and nervous constitutions to the breaking point, are destined in multiplied instances to result in discord within the family circle, thus increasing the probabilities of divorce.

3. Artificial Standards of Living.—The increased cost of living is due to two very different causes. The first is the increased cost of articles necessary to consumption and the necessity of purchasing many things formerly produced by the family itself. The second is the pressure of modern social competition, which has demanded greater luxuries in the way of houses, food, clothes, and home comforts, which have far outstripped the increase in the income of the head of the family. It is the pride of self-aggrandizement, which seeks to outstrip others

of the same social scale. Appearances outweigh comforts. The desire to excel becomes the ruling passion in countless homes of the middle well-to-do classes, and for this reason expenditures are indulged in which entail anxiety and often hardship and are very often beyond the legitimate and available means of the family. Thus for the sake of ostentation domestic happiness is sacrificed, and this is one of the prolific sources of divorce, suicide, and insanity.

While among the very poor the hard struggle for bread takes all of the romance out of existence, the human weaknesses, which might not otherwise affect the peace and harmony of the home, are apt to be intensified until they become too great for overwrought nerves to endure.

Perhaps the most appalling situation has been that caused by regarding wedlock as an economic vocation for women. Marriage regarded from this point of view becomes a species of purchase contract, in which the woman barters her sex capital in exchange for life support. There are thousands of women of the miscalled better classes who spend their lives in boarding houses and hotels, or in homes in which they are mere figure-heads, whose only occupation is to render sex service, mostly barren, to the husbands who furnish support as compensation.

Such wives are not chattels, but willing dependents; they are not the drudging home servants of old, nor the collaborators of their husbands, as in our rural population. As a result, marriage becomes little more than legalized prostitution, and is, on the whole, thoroughly incapable of affording the happiness which the marriage relation is designed to impart. The probability of permanency of the married condition under such cir-

cumstances becomes slight. It is notably this class which furnish the divorce scandals in "high life."

4. The Passing of the Economic Function of the Family.—Formerly the wife was not only a home-keeper, but a producer of industries which fed and clothed her family. With the great industrial changes, all of these have passed out of the family, so that instead of this work being done within the home, the members of the family go out into the great mart of the world to do the work which furnishes them with the means of subsistence.

Coincidently with this economic change in the family life, the new industries of the boarding house and bachelor apartments have sprung up. They remove from the young and those of loose morals the restraints of the home, and are sought after by the idle. This problem has been made much more acute by the ever-increasing difficulties of procuring good domestic service, which has driven many families unwillingly into hotels.

5. The Economic Emancipation of Women.—During the centuries of her tutelage woman has never been an idle dependent; she has always borne her share in the world's work. In primitive society she was the chief producer. Her value to her husband-owner has often consisted in the value of her labor; to this fact may be attributed very largely the persistence of the economic family. It was performed in connection with her occupation as wife and mother. The changed economic conditions have changed women's status as workers to a very marked degree. It has resulted in giving woman a greater freedom in her choice of vocation. She is no longer restricted as formerly to the acceptance of matrimony as a means of support. In 1840, according to Harriet Martineau, there were but seven employments

open to women. In 1890 Mr. Wright discovered that out of a total of 369 general groups, to which were assigned all of the various industries of the United States, only in nine were no children or women employed.

Equally important in the economic status of women has been the rise of women's property acts. Prior to 1840, the legal status of women in regard to property rights was determined in general by the common law. At marriage such property, real and personal, as the wife had, passed over to the control or ownership of her husband. Her legal existence, as respected the administration of property, was suspended or merged into that of her husband during coverture. He was charged with her support, and as compensation was given complete control over her person and property.

In two generations these conditions have been radically changed. It is a general rule throughout the United States at this time that a married woman may receive, receipt for, hold, manage, dispose of, lease, sell and convey, devise, or bequeath her separate property, both real and personal, as if sole owner, without joining or receiving the consent of her husband. In short we have at length arrived at that lofty sense of economic justice to women which was so freely granted to them by the statutes of ancient Babylonia.

6. The Ethical Readjustments.—Practical ethics knows no distinction of sex. Present ethical tendencies are making an effective demand for a single standard of morals for both sexes. The social inferiority of women in all ages, due chiefly to their economic dependence, is largely responsible for the rise and persistence of the dual standard. With the change in the social status of woman the necessity for the toleration of such discrimination is passing away. According to our present standards, it

is neither religious or moral to maintain a relation that involves injustice and inequality, so that the divorce movement, in certain of its aspects, is a sign of a healthy discontent with the present moral conditions, and marks the struggle toward a higher ethical consciousness in regard to the sexual relations.

The acceptance of a sincere love between a man and a woman, who would live together and be parents, as the only workable and decent foundation for the marriage relation is becoming to be regarded by society as the ideal. Furthermore, that coercion, whether on the part of the Church or State, which compels one person to live with another of the opposite sex in repugnant conjugal relations, does violence to all of the higher ethical instincts of the soul and comes to be regarded as a species of despotism incompatible with free institutions.

This brings us to the root of the whole matter—the need of a loftier popular ideal of the marriage relation. While bad legislation and a low standard of social ethics continue to throw wide open the doors of wedlock, there must of necessity be a broad way out. In how many cases are marriages often contracted in ignorance and with utter levity? How many thousands of parents fail to give their children serious warning against yielding to a transient impulse in the selection of a life mate? How few have received any real training with respect to the duties and responsibilities of conjugal life? What proper check is society placing on the marriage of the unfit?

"Our laws," says an eloquent writer, "stare us in the face; there is no man so drunken, so immoral, so brutal, so cruel, that he may not take to himself the purest, the most refined, the most sensitive of women to wife, if he can obtain her consent. There is no woman so petty,

so vain, so paltry, so inane, that she may not become the wife of an intellectual, honorable man and the mother of his doomed children. There is no pauper who may not wed a pauper and beget paupers to the end of history. There is no felon returned from prison, or loose upon society uncondemned, who may not make a base play at wedlock and perpetuate his diseased soul and body in those of his descendants without restraint."

For the wise reformer who would elevate and protect the family, the basis of the problem is marriage and not divorce. The fundamental causes of divorce are implanted deeply in the imperfections of the social system; particularly in false sentiments regarding marriage and the family. These can only be removed by rational principles and the education of the public. The laws should be simple, certain, and uniform.

The divorce movement is dependent on social forces which lie far beyond the reach of the statute makers, yet it seems almost certain that there is a margin, very important though narrow, within which he may wisely exert a restraining influence. Good laws may at any rate check hasty impulses and force individuals to take proper time for reflection. They may also, by securing publicity, prevent manifold injustice in the granting of decrees.

Divorce is a symptom and not a disease. Certain it is that one rises from a detailed study of American legislation with the conviction that, faulty as our divorce laws are, our marriage laws are far worse, while our apathy, our carelessness, and levity regarding the safeguarding of matrimonial institutions are well-nigh incredible.

CHAPTER IV

PROSTITUTION, SOCIAL DISEASES, AND MARRIAGE

Prostitution Instituted (1) *To Avenge the Anger of the Gods;* (2) *to Preserve the Sanctity of the Home; Sanctioned in Ancient Greece and Rome;* (3) *Recognized in the Middle Ages as a Necessity for Man's Physiologic Needs; the Regulation and Organization of Prostitutes. The Chief Causes of Prostitution at the Present Day:* (1) *Economic Necessity;* (2) *Biologic Predisposition;* (3) *Man's Physiologic Necessity,* (4) *Civilization Value;* (5) *Masculine Unchastity and the Double Standard of Morals.*

The Venereal Diseases, Gonorrhea: Its Risks to the Life and Health of Women; Influence on Pregnancy, Syphilis; The Prevalence of Syphilis; The Blood Test for Syphilis; Symptomatic or Incomplete Cure; Syphilis and Marriage; Effects of Syphilis on Child-bearing Women; Modes of Transmission of Syphilis; the Time of Treatment and the Five-year Rule; Syphilis and Engagements to Marriage; Syphilis and Prostitution; Syphilis and Divorce; Public Efforts Against Venereal Diseases.

It would appear that prostitution chronologically considered, was justified by man as a living and perpetual sacrifice of woman; (1) To avenge the anger of the gods; (2) To preserve the sanctity of the home; (3) To satisfy man's physiologic needs(?)

1. To Avenge the Anger of the Gods.—Curiously enough it would appear that prostitution had its origin

in the establishment of the monogamic family, achieved in the second phase of social evolution in which the *matriarchate* prevailed. At that time it was held by man, that "strict marriage, that is the exclusive appropriation of a woman by one man, was looked upon as an abridgment of a natural or religious right; for which expiation must be rendered to the goddess whose law is violated."

As we follow the history of prostitution through the ages, we find that the real reason for it has always been the same, namely; man's so-called physiological necessity, and so it was practically a corollary to the establishment of monogamy. The probability of the truth of this assertion is further emphasized by the fact that when in ancient Greece monogamy was legalized by the state, so also was prostitution. And while the cause has always remained the same, man's justification for prostitution has varied according to the ethics of the age in which he lived.

2. To Preserve the Sanctity of the Home.—Public brothels were introduced at an early date into Greece. Solon introduced them as state institutions in Athens, which caused a contemporary to sing his praises in the following manner: "Solon, be extolled! For thou hast brought public women for the safety of the town; for the morals of a town filled with strong young men, who but for thy wise institutions, would have given themselves up to the pursuit of women of the upper classes." Thus did the law of the State recognize as the natural right of man an act, which when committed by women, was regarded as degraded and criminal. This same Solon decreed in this same Athens that "A woman who has had intercourse with a lover, must atone for the enormity by the loss of her freedom or her life." Her husband

might sell her as a slave. *And Solon was one of the seven wise men of Greece.*

A sumptuous temple was dedicated to the goddess Hetæræ in Athens in the time of Plato, 400 B.C. At this time there were no less than one thousand prostitutes in the temple of Aphrodite in Corinth, which was celebrated throughout Greece for its luxury. The hetæræ were admitted to the assemblies and banquets, while the "honest" women of Greece were without exception nowhere allowed to appear in public. The latter always wore a veil on the streets and dressed in the greatest simplicity. Their culture was of the lowest order, for their instruction was intentionally neglected. The virtuous woman was compelled to lead a life of almost absolute seclusion; society in the modern English sense did not exist.

The Greeks considered that the development of humanity in all of its organs and functions was the highest aim in life. Therefore, when Greek legislators were called upon to face the problem of prostitution, they attempted a solution by dividing women into two distinct classes, one of which was represented by the wife, whose duty it was above all things to remain faithful to her husband, while the other was composed of the hetæræ. Each class was held to be necessary and to have its particular function in the political and social life. The same solution of the difficulty has been accepted in the modern state of France.

Demosthenes defined the sexual relations of the Athenians as follows: "We marry in order to obtain legitimate children and a faithful warder of the house; we keep concubines as servants for our daily attendance; but we seek the hetæræ for love's delight."

The hetæræ were divided into many classes, and it

was only the highest of these, the free-born hetæræ, who played any important part in the social life of Greece. These women rose more and more into prominence as the position of the virtuous women fell. They were generally renowned for their high intelligence and conversational powers. They used to gather around them the highest statesmen and philosophers, and their salons might have rivaled in magnificence and culture those of the circle which paid court to a Ninon de l'Enclos. In such cities as Athens and Corinth they alone of all the women had unrestricted freedom; and of this they availed themselves to the fullest extent by the acquisition of a large degree of knowledge which, combined with their physical beauty, rendered them extraordinarily fascinating, even to the highest intellects. Many of them had statues raised in their honor.

The hetæræ played a very remarkable part in the social life of Greece. There were instances in which the hetæræ stood to men in the relation analogous to the modern wife. Such an instance we find in the case of Aspasia and Pericles. Born in Miletus, a city famous as one of the strongholds of Ionic culture, Aspasia studied philosophy under Thargelia and, attracted by the growing fame of Athens, came to that city and set up a school of philosophy herself. Her house was frequented by the most brilliant and intellectual men of Athens. Socrates himself was a constant attendant, and it was here that she attracted the attention and love of the great statesman, Pericles. So strong did this attachment become that he divorced his wife, and was only prevented from actually marrying Aspasia by the Athenian law forbidding an Athenian citizen from marrying a foreigner. There can be no doubt that she did become his wife in all but name. It is said that she instructed him in the

art of rhetoric, and that she even composed some of his speeches for him. At all events she played a leading part in the political life of Athens.

Prostitution in Ancient Rome.—During the first centuries of the Roman Empire the Roman woman possessed no rights at all. Her position was as abject as that of the woman of Greece. It was not until the State had grown large and powerful, and the Roman patrician had accumulated vast riches, that her position gradually changed and she obtained greater social, though not greater legal freedom. This occasioned the elder Cato to complain that if every father of a family followed the example of his ancestors and endeavored to keep his wife in the proper state of servility, the sex would cease to give so much public annoyance.

Under the Empire woman acquired the right of her inheritance, but she herself remained a minor and could dispose of nothing without the consent of her guardian. The father was guardian so long as he lived, even though the daughter were married. After his death he was replaced by the nearest male relative, who had the right of transferring his function at will to any third person. By Roman law the man was the protector of the woman, who had no will of her own. The right of divorce was possessed only by the man. With the growing power and wealth of Rome, its austere morality disappeared and made way for vices and excesses. Celibacy and childlessness became more frequent among the ruling classes.

The rise of Christianity to political power produced, on the whole, less change of policy regarding prostitution than might have been anticipated. The Christian rulers had to deal practically as best they might with a very mixed, turbid, semi-pagan world. The leading

fathers of the Church were inclined to tolerate prostitution for the avoidance of greater evils. Even St. Augustine, although an ardent advocate of asceticism, exclaimed: "If you put down public prostitutes, the State will be overturned by the violence of passion." Christian emperors, like their pagan predecessors, were willing to derive a tax from prostitution, but the right of prostitution was no longer so unquestionably recognized as in pagan days. From time to time some vigorous ruler sought to repress it by vigorous enactments, which however always proved futile.

3. Prostitution as a Requirement for Man's Physical Needs.—It remained for the Middle Ages, which so indelibly wrote the blackest pages in all human history, to establish this remarkable dogma. Mere physical satisfaction was considered such an absolute necessity for men that the creditors of imprisoned debtors, were compelled to send them sufficient money twice a week to pay for the services of prostitutes. Toward the end of the Middle Ages the myth was current that an accumulation of human serum must be dispersed in order to prevent a poisoning of the blood. On the strength of this belief, even boys of twelve were sent to the brothels.

It was a characteristic feature of the Middle Ages that not even the most contemptible trade could be carried on without fixed regulations. Accordingly prostitution received a guild organization. In all towns were brothels belonging to the municipality, to the sovereign, or even to the church, the proceeds of which flowed into the treasury of their proprietors.

The same communities which officially recognized and protected prostitution, however, imposed the severest and most cruel penalties on the unfortunate woman who had been seduced and forsaken, and the woman who in

her despair committed infanticide was, as a rule, punished by the most atrocious form of death.

From time to time vigorous efforts were made to combat prostitution. Most notable of all were those of St. Louis XI, King of France, who in 1254 ordained that all prostitutes should be driven out of France and deprived of all their money and goods, even to their mantles and gowns, all to no effect.

The last vigorous attempt to uproot prostitution in Europe was that of the Empress Maria Theresa at Vienna in the middle of the eighteenth century. Its object was indeed not only to suppress prostitution, but fornication generally, and the means adopted were fines, imprisonment, whipping and torture. The supposed causes of fornication were also severely dealt with; short dresses were prohibited, billiard rooms and cafés were inspected and no waitresses were allowed. The Chastity Commission, under whom these measures were vigorously carried out, was apparently established in 1751 and was quietly abolished by the Emperor Joseph II in the early years of his reign.

The Regulation and Organization of Prostitutes.— It is especially to Napoleon I that this step was due. It is the living expression of his sentiments toward woman; oppression of the sex, with contempt for its rights and degradation of its individual members as articles of pleasure for men and machines for reproduction.

It was given a semi-official recognition, which enabled the authorities to exercise control over it, and by medical and police inspection to guard as far as possible against the spread of venereal diseases. Medical science has long since condemned this system as worse than useless. The infectious germs of gonorrhea and syphilis are usually met with in the genital organs of man and woman,

so that every coitus between a healthy and infected individual may infect the former. Hence the danger of the spread of infectious diseases increases with the number of mutations in sexual intercourse.

This system consists in the supervision of every woman who prostitutes herself. She is given an official form, which obliges her to submit to a medical inspection every one or two weeks, under penalty of being arrested and punished.

As soon as the State tolerates prostitution and brothels it is obliged to enter into official contracts with them; therefore it recognizes them. Moreover the services which it renders them must be paid for. The examinations made are very superficial, and the stay in the hospital is limited to the short time in which the visible sores are cured, when the woman returns to the brothel. No real confidence can be placed in these medical examinations; on the contrary, it gives the male public a feeling of false security. Moreover the medical inspections are made too rapidly to be of any practical value. While a private prostitute rarely receives more than one client in an evening; every prostitute in a brothel is obliged to receive as many as present themselves. A girl may therefore have connection with as many as twenty or thirty men in the same night.

The Chief Causes of Prostitution at the Present Day.—(1) Economic necessity; (2) biologic predisposition; (3) man's physiologic necessity; (4) civilization value; (5) masculine unchastity and the double standard of morals.

1. Economic Necessity.—Investigators frequently assert that the chief cause of prostitution is poverty, and that it is due to the low wages of women or to the sudden depression in trade. Prostitutes are mainly derived

from the ranks of factory girls, domestic servants, shop girls, and waitresses. In some of these occupations it is difficult to get work all the year around. We need only to consider the miserable wages earned by the greater number of working women, upon which it is impossible to exist, the recipients being forced to eke out their livelihood by prostitution. Further than this, some employers are infamous enough to excuse the lowness of the salaries by pointing out this means of indemnification.

Perhaps the great majority of proletarian women have become prostitutes to escape the joyless life of the working woman, animated by the urgent desire for fine clothes, the theater and an existence which appears brighter and more desirable than the life of the ordinary proletarian who lives simply by hard labor. It is estimated that from forty to fifty per cent. are recruited from the servant class.

There is another large group of girls falling victims to prostitution from the lack of a proper home and the conditions of home life, but the great majority of prostitutes enter their profession as the direct result of economic pressure. It is a fact of common observation that where women's wages rise, prostitution diminishes to a proportionate degree, and conversely with a fall of women's wages, not only does there result an increase in the number of prostitutes, but, further, as a necessary result of the increasing competition, the market price of the prostitute's service falls.

2. The Biologic Factor of Prostitution.—Lombroso has more especially advocated the doctrine that prostitution is the vicarious equivalent of criminality. In this he was developing the results taught by the important study of the Jukes family by Dugale, who found

that where the brothers committed crime, the sisters adopted prostitution. The fines and imprisonments of the women of the family were not for violations of the rights of property, but mainly for offences against public decency. The psychologic as well as the anatomic identity of the criminal and born prostitute, Lombroso and Ferrero concluded, could not be more complete; both are identical with the moral insane and therefore, according to the axiom, equal to each other. There is the same lack of moral sense, the same hardness of heart, the same precocious taste for evil, the same indifference to social infamy, the same volatility, love of idleness, and lack of foresight. The same taste for fancied pleasures, for the orgy and for alcohol, the same or almost the same vanity. "Prostitution is only the feminine side of criminality. The prostitute is therefore psychologically criminal."

It would therefore seem on the whole, so far as the evidence goes, that prostitutes are not quite normal representatives of the ranks in which they were born.

3. Man's Physiologic Necessity.—Science has completely and absolutely proven the falsity of that dogma of the Middle Ages. Forel says: "It is this modern arsenal of prostitution which plays the principal rôle. In this way the sexual appetite is not only artificially increased, and often directed into unnatural channels, but it also leads to the poison and ruin of youth by venereal diseases, to say nothing of alcoholism.

"Immoderate sexual desire, provoked in men by artificial excitations of prostitution, etc., is a bad acquisition. It renders difficult the accustomance to marriage, fidelity and life-long love for the same woman. The degradation of the sexual sentiments of a man who has long been accustomed to live with prostitutes is never

entirely effaced, and generally leaves an indelible impression on the human brain."

Westermarck points out that the more advanced is civilization, the greater is the number of illegitimate births, and the more widespread is prostitution. In Europe the proportion of illegitimate children and of prostitutes is nearly double in the towns that it is in the country. This shows, he says, the absurdity of regarding promiscuity as a primitive state. On the contrary, it is the rotten fruit of civilization and more especially of semi-civilization. Primitive customs are generally chaste and it is civilization which corrupts them. In Europe prostitution is becoming more frequent while marriage is becoming less frequent. It is the latter which constitutes the primitive and natural state.

4. The Civilization Value of Prostitution.—Prostitution has been considered a buttress to our marriage system. That, as we have already seen, was the assumption of the pagan philosophers of Greece and Rome and of the early Christian fathers. That this premise is not only wholly false, but that, further, prostitution does and always has undermined the very social fabric and foundation of the home, has been proven by the cold logic of science. Havelock Ellis says: "The attraction of the prostitute by no means ceases when men are married, for a large number, if not the majority, of those who visit prostitutes are married men."

Marriage represents the sexual life of one-half of the bourgeois world and prostitution represents the other. When men for one reason or another remain unmarried, they generally resort to prostitution; and again, when a man finds no satisfaction in married life, it is to prostitution that he resorts. Provision is thus made for men celibates as well as for men whose marriage has been a disappointment.

It is not merely the general conditions or civilization, but more specifically the conditions of urban life, which make the factor insistent. On the one hand, urban life, by the stress of competition which it imposes, causes a severe, exacting routine of dull work, while at the same time it makes men and women more sensitive to new impressions, more enamored of excitement and change. It multiplies the opportunities for social intercourse; it decreases the chances of detection of illegitimate intercourse; while at the same time it makes marriage more difficult, for by heightening social ambition and the increased cost of living, it postpones the time when a home can be created.

It thus results from the social conditions of to-day that among the men of the possessing classes a considerable number renounce monogamic marriage altogether. Others if they marry do not live monogamically, and finally, in the best of cases, they do not become monogamists until they have had ten years or more of extra-conjugal life. It results that there are a large number of men in the full vigor of sexual maturity who believe themselves to need opportunities for extrasexual intercourse.

5. Masculine Unchastity and the Double Standard of Morals.—While, as we have already seen, there are many auxiliary causes of prostitution, the whole history of this infamous institution, from the time it was legalized in ancient Greece, side by side with or rather because of the institution of monogamous marriage, to the present day, shows that it was based on the polygamous proclivities and practices of the male, which lead him to seek the gratification of his sexual instinct whenever and wherever he could find a receptive partner.

Undoubtedly the chief contributory cause is that

false social code of morals, diametrically opposed to the moral code taught by Christianity, which readily condones in the man what it unsparingly condemns in the woman, extenuating or accepting as excusable in the one what it decrees to be unpardonable in the other.

It is by no means intended to say that all men are bad and that all women are good; nothing could be more false than such a statement. Nor is the sexual appetite in woman any such negligible quantity as it is so often wrongly represented to be. Through centuries of time, custom and tradition, and the social ostracism of the woman who forgets her obligations to the standards of good society the average woman has her sexual impulses under fairly good control. As a rule the woman owes her fall to the aggressive solicitations or seductions of the man, and very often she yields because of a sentimental feeling from the man's statement: "You are the only one who can save me from perdition." After the first step the descent to a life of shame is easy and almost inevitable.

The influence of this false code of morality is reflected in the conventional standards of society, which freely opens its doors to the chartered libertine and bars and bolts them against his victim. Women are the most pitiless and unrelenting in their ostracism of those of their sex who have crossed the Rubicon of virtue. The virtuous matron who would shield her daughter from all contact with a fallen sister as contaminating, with the most indulgent charity smiles upon the very man who may have been the author of her ruin. She may indeed receive him as a suitor for her daughter if he is otherwise eligible.

The father of a family may welcome to the society of his wife and daughters men whom he knows lead dis-

sipated lives and frequent the company of immoral women. The father may even pay a bonus in the shape of a large dowry to pay the debts the man has incurred in keeping a mistress; too often the daughter is compelled to share in the discharge of the debt he has contracted to disease.

As the result of this double standard of morality, society separates its women, as did the Greeks of old, into two classes. From the one it demands chastity and the other is set apart for the gratification of the sexual caprices of men. The great gulf fixed between virtuous and immoral women is bridged over by social convention which permits men to pass and repass freely, but the prostitute is not without her revenge, for the man carries to his chaste wife the germs of the deadly venereal diseases.

The Venereal Diseases.—These so-called social diseases are extended through society largely through prostitution. They are exceedingly communicable and insidious, and men and women who lead impure lives sexually are certain to be infected with them sooner or later. It is difficult to get statistics that are reliable, but even conservative physicians have estimated that fully one-eighth of the diseases which afflict humanity come from unclean sexual life.

Gonorrhea.—Syphilis is the most obviously appalling of the venereal diseases, yet it is less frequent and in some respects less dangerously insidious than the other chief venereal disease, gonorrhea. The inflammatory results of gonorrhea are indubitably a most potent cause of sterility in both sexes. Some authorities have stated that not only eighty per cent. of the deaths from inflammatory diseases of the pelvic organs and the majority of the cases of chronic invalidism in women, but the great

majority of involuntary sterile marriages, are due to gonorrhea. Very much of the blindness of infants is due to the same cause.

Risks to the Life and Health of Woman.—Gonorrhea has for its sole etiologic factor the gonococcus. In woman the source of this contagion in the vast majority of cases is a latent or chronic gonorrhea in the man. In man the infection is almost always superficial, while in women the infection is more often primarily located in the deep parts, which is explained by the physiology of coitus, the germs being deposited at the uterine neck at the moment of ejaculation.

In the woman the infection ordinarily remains localized in its primary seat without extension to the neighboring points, until some exciting influence such as sexual excess, the congestion due to menstruation, or pregnancy, determines an extension of the process. The auto-infection may radiate in both directions, but most frequently it takes an ascending course. The gonococci, invading the lining membrane of the uterus, pass upward through the continuity of tissues to the tubes, ovaries, and peritoneum. In the majority of cases the infection is established insidiously without acute symptoms, so that as a rule gonorrhea in woman is not seen until it has become a chronic affection.

Influence of Pregnancy.—Pregnancy, which may result in abortion or in accouchement at full term, constitutes the greatest conceivable danger to women with gonorrhea of the neck of the uterus. The condition to which many women ardently aspire in the fulfilment of their hopes of maternity, thus becomes the instrument of their destruction. The hour to which the woman looks forward as the termination of her pains and confinement is but the beginning of a long period of suffering, grave danger, and not infrequently death.

When a woman infected with gonorrhea becomes pregnant, the disease which has hitherto remained passive is apt to undergo a more or less marked virulent modification. Abortion and accouchement create the opportunity which permits this infection, now revived into virulence, to pass through the tubes, ovaries, and peritoneum, determining the grave consequences which follow profound infection.

In the vast majority of cases pregnancy is the pivot upon which hangs the destiny of the woman, so far as the extension of the infection is concerned, because the process of parturition communicates the pathologic impulse. Not only are the gonococci multiplied in numbers and exalted in virulence, the way being opened for ascending infection, but the soil is prepared in the process of parturition by the anatomic changes which take place in the uterus. After accouchement the tissues of the genital organs are in a peculiar state of imbibition, infiltration, and succulence; the uterine orifices are enlarged, the mucous membrane is in part desquamated, and the glandular culdesacs persist, offering to the gonococcus a favorable soil for its proliferation.

Syphilis is a contagious, constitutional disease due to a germ, the *Spirocheta pallida*, which was discovered in 1905. The origin of the disease is uncertain. That it was unknown to Europe until the return of Columbus and his sailors, who brought it back with them from the island of Haiti, causing a blasting epidemic to spread over and devastate Spain, Italy, France, and England, is highly improbable. Invading armies, always a frightful means of spreading disease, carried syphilis with them everywhere, leaving it to rage unchecked among the natives when the armies went down to destruction or defeat. It has been estimated that at the present time there is

not a single race or people upon whom syphilis has not set its mark.

The Prevalence of Syphilis.—According to the figures given by Stokes[1] it is believed to be five times as frequent in men as women. "Blaschko, while apparently extreme, cannot be too lightly dismissed when he places the percentage of syphilis in clerks and merchants in Berlin between the ages of 18 and 28, as 45 per cent. Pinkus estimated that one man in every five in Germany had syphilis.

"Recently published Statistics by Vedder, covering the condition of recruits drawn to the army in the United States from the city and country, estimated 20 per cent. to be syphilitic who apply for enlistment and 5 per cent. of the young men who enter our colleges and West Point. The percentage of syphilis in any class grouped by age increases with the age, since so few of the cases are cured and the number is simply added to up to a certain point, as time elapses. Even the army, representing in many ways a filtered group of men passing vigorous examinations and protected by an elaborate system of prevention, which probably keeps the infection rate far below that of the civil population, is conceded by careful observers (Nichols and others) to show from 5 per cent. to 7 per cent. syphilitics.

"Attention should be called to the difference in a population and the percentage of venereal diseases, including gonorrhea, which increases the percentage enormously, since it is estimated that as high as 70 per cent. of adult males have gonorrhea at least once in a lifetime. On the whole it is conservative to estimate that one man in every ten has syphilis.

"Taking men and women together on the basis of one

* The Third Great Plague: John H. Stokes, M. D.

of the latter to five of the former and excluding those under 15 years of age from consideration, this country with a population of 91,972,266 (figures based on 1910 census) should be able to muster a very considerable army of 3,842,526."

The Blood Test for Syphilis.—The so-called Wassermann reaction was discovered in 1904. When the Wassermann test shows the presence of syphilis, it is called "positive;" before the infection has spread this test is negative. In about 20 to 30 per cent. of syphilitic individuals the test returns to the negative after the secondary stage is passed. This does not necessarily mean that the person is cured. If we wish to be sure of cure the treatment must be continued not only till the test becomes negative, but until it stays negative. This usually means repeated tests over a period of several years in connection with a course of treatment.

The discovery of salvarsan ("606"), which is a medical compound used in the modern treatment of syphilis, was announced to the world by its brilliant discoverer Paul Ehrlich, in 1910.

Symptomatic or Incomplete Cures.—Trifling relapses, highly contagious sores in the mouth or elsewhere are, in the first five years of an imperfectly treated infection, a very terrible danger to which thousands fall victim every year. Dangerous syphilis is improperly treated syphilis, and at any moment it may come into our drawing rooms, in the swimming pool, across the counter of the store, or by way of the milkman, the waitress, or the barber. It confronts thousands of wives and children in the person of the half-cured father, infected nurse maids and others intimately associated with their personal lives. These dangers can be effectively removed from our midst by the substitution of radical for symp-

tomatic methods. A person under vigorous treatment, with a view to a radical cure, is under the constant observation of his physician, and is nearly harmless. In a reasonable time he can be made fit even for marriage. In the fully developed infection in the second stage, three years is the minimum, four years the average, and five years' treatment and observation are not uncommon.

Syphilis and Marriage.—As the product of experience it is a safe general rule to consider a person with untreated syphilis as decidedly infectious for the first three years of his disease and somewhat so for two years longer. Keyes on the basis of his private records made the estimate of the risk of infecting the wife. The chances taken by a syphilitic husband who used no special precautions to prevent the infection of his wife were twelve to one in the first year in favor of an infection; five to two in the second year; and one to four in the third year, being negligible after the fourth year.

Hoffman says no treatment can guarantee the non-infectiousness of a syphilitic in the first five years of his disease. Time is thus an essential element in pronouncing a person non-infectious and hence in deciding his future for marriage.

The Effects of Syphilis on Child-bearing Women.—Unlike gonorrhea, which as we saw was apt to make women sterile, syphilis does not in most cases reduce the power to conceive. A woman with active syphilis may conceive with great frequency, but she cannot carry her children through to normal birth. In other words she usually has a series of miscarriages or abortions, in which she loses the child any time from the first to the eighth month. The series of abortions may be followed by still-births or syphilitic children.

More than 75 per cent. of children born with syphilis

die within the first year of life and more than 95 per cent. of the children when untreated die. The moral effect of the loss or crippling of the new-born jars the character and morale of the parents to its very foundation. The toll of syphilis in misery and desolation, heart-breaks, broken bonds, and defeated ideals can never be estimated.

Modes of Transmission of Syphilis.—Kisses, caresses, and sexual relations make up the origin of an overwhelming proportion of syphilitic infections. It is through these sources of contact that syphilis invades the family especially. Many a syphilitic who realizes that he should not have sexual relations with his wife while he has the disease in an active form will thoughtlessly infect her or his children in kissing. Kissing games are potentially dangerous. It is no great rarity to find that syphilis is dated from a sore on the lip that developed while a young couple were engaged. Certainly the indiscriminate kissing of strangers is as dangerous an indulgence as can be imagined. The combination of a cold sore or crack on the lips of the one and a mucous patch inside the lips of the other brings disaster very near. Children are sometimes the victims of this sort of thing, and it should be resented as an insult for a stranger to attempt to kiss another's child, no matter on what part of the body.

The sexual transmission of syphilis is beyond doubt the most important factor in the spread of this disease. Here all of the essential conditions for giving the germs a foothold in the body are satisfied. It is remarkable that trifling lesions can harbor them by the millions and how completely, especially in the case of women, syphilitic persons may be ignorant of the dangers to others. The sexual transmission of syphilis is a physiologic fact. A chancre acquired from a drinking cup or a pipe may be transmitted to husband or wife through a mucous patch

on the genitals and to the children through an infected mother, without the question of innocence or guilt ever having arisen. Fournier believes that 20 per cent. of syphilis in women is contracted in marriage, but according to Stokes 50 per cent. seems nearer the truth.

The Time Principle Treatment and the Five-year Rule.—The man who has conformed to the best practice in both particulars may usually marry and have healthy children. The woman under the same circumstances need not fear that the risk of having offspring injured by her disease is any greater than the risks that they will be injured in any of the ways that occur in bringing a child into the world.

Syphilis and Engagements to Marry.—If a five-year rule is to be applied to marriage a similar rule should cover the engagement of a syphilitic to marry and it should cover the sexual relation of married people who acquire syphilis. It is not too much to expect that an engaged person who acquires syphilis shall break his engagement and not renew it or contract another until, by the five-year rule, he would be able to marry with safety.

Engagements nowadays may well be thought of as the equivalent of marriage in regard to the question of syphilis. "It is not infrequent" says Stokes, "that a man infected elsewhere with syphilis, unwittingly infects his fiancée through a subsequent kiss." The publication of the banns before marriage is worth while, and an unmistakable testimony as to character and health of the parties concerned might be exchanged before a wooing is permitted to assume the character of an engagement. A medical examination, including a Wassermann test by an expert on syphilis, should be demanded. There should be a law to enforce this.

The problem of the relation of syphilis and marriage is simply an aspect of the transmission of an infectious disease. The infection of one party to the marriage by the other and the transmission of that infection to the children summarizes the social problem. Through the intimate contacts of family life syphilis attacks the future of the human race.

The problem of syphilis in regard to marriage is a very serious one. It will never be completely met except by a vigorous public program against syphilis as a sanitary problem.

Syphilis and Prostitution.—The prevalence of syphilis among women who receive promiscuous attention is enormous. It is practically an axiom that no woman who is lax in her relations with men is safe from the danger of the disease, or can long remain free from it. The type of man who is a "light o' love" does not go far before he meets the partner who has been infected by someone else. Becoming infected himself, he passes his infection on to his next partner. The acquiring of syphilis from loose men or women is usually thought of as an affair of genital contact. Yet it is notable that extragenital chancres are not uncommon results of liberties taken with light women which do not go to the extent of the sexual relation.

Of actual prostitutes, from 80 per cent. to 85 per cent. at some time during their career acquire syphilis. The recently published investigation of the Baltimore Vice Commission showed that 63 per cent. of 289 prostitutes examined by the Wassermann test had syphilis, and of 266 examined, 92.1 per cent. had gonorrhea. Nearly half of the girls examined had both diseases. About half the number are apt to have an active evidence of the disease.

Thirty per cent. examined by Papee in Lemberg were in the most dangerous period, the first to the third year of the disease. Three-fourths of these cases were in women under 25 years of age, in the most attractive period of their lives. Averaging a large number of European cities, it was found that not more than 40 per cent. of prostitutes were even free from the outward sign of syphilis, to say nothing of the laboratory tests. It is more than evident that prostitution is admirably fitted to play the leading rôle in the dissemination of this disease. The young and attractive prostitute is the one that draws the largest number, with the almost certain prospect of infecting them.

Syphilis and Divorce.—The influential motive which prompts many men and most women to enter into matrimony is the pursuit of happiness. They expect to realize the fruition of their hopes in the intimate companionship and association of marriage, which this relation permits. Syphilis introduced into marriage often strikes the death knell of such hopes; it is destructive of the mutual love and esteem which should form the basis of marriage. Syphilis distils a double venom; it poisons not only the health but the happiness of the household. It carries in its train not only physical woes but social misery, often divorce.

What husband can hope to retain the esteem and love of the wife whom he has dishonored with a shameful disease, of the mother in whose child he has infused the foul taint of the prostitute, which dies before being born or comes into the world an object of disgust and horror? If he be a man of consciousness and sensibility, what remorse must he suffer from his sense of guilty responsibility for the ruin he has wrought!

The husband who has sent his young wife to a prema-

ture grave because he had not sufficient self-control to remain faithful to her in marriage and infected her with an acute gonorrhea during pregnancy, is struck dumb with horror as he looks on her in her casket. Another, whose wife was driven insane by the knowledge that she had acquired syphilis from her husband, prated of suicide. *Cui bono*? The tragedy of life is that we cannot go back and undo our mistakes and deadly sins.

We may now inquire what redress the law affords a woman who has been infected by her husband in the marriage relation.

The communication of syphilis in married life by one partner to the other, or even the exposure of one partner to the contagion of disease may affect: (1) contracts to marry; (2) annulment of the union, and (3) divorce.

In the first place it may be observed that the mere existence of venereal disease in one partner, or even its communication to the other, does not *per se* constitute a sufficient ground for divorce. There must be certain concurrent conditions of an aggravating character presently to be considered.

While syphilis is not specifically mentioned as a cause for divorce on the statute books, actions for divorce may be instituted on the grounds of "cruelty," as it is generally held by the American and English courts that the communication of this disease constitutes cruelty, which is a statutory ground for divorce. The French courts provide that one partner may demand divorce from the other on the ground of "grave injury," and since the communication of syphilis is held to be a grave injury, proceedings for divorce are usually instituted upon this ground or upon the ground of infidelity.

In all courts of law special stress is laid upon the knowledge and wilful communication of this disease. The

defendant must know that he had an infectious disease and that it was attended with the danger of infecting the other party. In other words the existing laws do not afford sufficient protection.

Public Efforts Against the Venereal Diseases.—A campaign against tuberculosis was the starting point to control tuberculosis and in the same way a campaign has been at the bottom of the movement against venereal diseases which is now making headway at a pace that generations of talking and thinking in peaceful times could not have brought about. This country, however, is at the present time probably in the rear of any other great nations in the world in its efforts to control venereal diseases as a national problem. The way has been paved by the epoch-making movements of the Scandinavian countries and by the studies of the Sydenham Royal Commission, on whose findings the British Government has launched the greatest single movement against syphilis and gonorrhea that has ever been undertaken.

CHAPTER V

ALCOHOL AND RACE DEGENERACY

Alcohol in History: (1) *The Revolutionary War and the Ethical Temperance Movement; War and the Temperance Movement in Great Britain;* (2) *the European Scientific-Hygienic Movement of* 1873; *Alcohol, Psychic Reaction and Efficiency; Alcohol and Race Degeneracy; Alcohol and Heredity;* (3) *the European Social Reform Movement; Alcohol and Moral Degeneration; Alcohol and Prostitution;* (4) *Alcohol and the Great War; the United States and Prohibition.*

The reason for craving alcohol is that it is an anesthetic, even in moderate quantities. It obliterates part of the field of consciousness and abolishes collateral trains of thought.

A far safer and more permanently useful procedure to the individual would be so to live by his reason and his conscicncc that he need not stupefy them in order to forgct the life that he is shaping day by day. And the lesson to the community is so to brighten the lives of the poor with normal, wholesome pleasures and recreations as to lift them from the burdens of poverty and social injustice, so that they will not so much need to plunge into the grateful oblivion of the wine cup.—William James.

The tenacious hold of the alcohol trade is bascd on two fundamental principles: (1) That thc usc of alcohol creates a craving for it; (2) and even more important is that the sale of liquors is immensely profitable to the manufacturers and dealers.

Alcohol in History.—From time immemorial man has used some powerful narcotic to increase the joys of life or deaden the edge of sorrow. The discovery of alcohol is believed to have been coincident with the dawn of the agricultural period. The hereditary effects of alcohol

have been recognized from the earliest times. Plato forbade newly wedded couples to drink, knowing that drunkenness begets drunkards. Both Buddha and Mahomet understood the degenerating influence of alcohol and interdicted its use through religious dogmas.

Spirituous liquors were unknown to the armies of ancient Rome. The canteen of every soldier was filled with nothing but vinegar, which was mixed with water, and it was by this means that the Roman soldiers were enabled to sustain their tedious marches through scorching sands without being subject to sickness.

Six centuries ago the only alcoholics were malt liquors, wine, cider, and a little metheglin. About that time a species of spirits distilled from wine, since known as brandy, which up to that time had only been employed by alchemists as a solvent, passed into the Materia Medica, under the name of *aqua vitæ*. Soon after this whiskey was manufactured, and still later gin. About three centuries ago whiskey and brandy passed into dietetic use as beverages in common life. Two hundred and forty years ago the great evil was powerfully enforced by the introduction of West India rum. Under these most powerful of all intoxicants, the drinking habits of the Anglo-Saxon people took on darker hues, and the debasement became deeper and more fatal.

1. The Revolutionary War and the Ethical Temperance Movement.—To those who have complacently regarded the anti-alcohol movement as a purely ethical one, the fact will come as a startling surprise that in its inception as well as in its culmination, it was undertaken as a conservative measure to increase individual physical efficiency at a time when the resources of the Nation had been strained to the utmost by the havoc of war. It was in short a conservative measure to strengthen the sinews

of a young, poor, and struggling country, so that it might be enabled in the shortest possible time to repair the terrible devastations wrought by the war. The first act of the temperance movement was staged in the feeble little democracy that lay on the western coast of the Atlantic ocean, the United States of America!

It is to the lasting credit of the medical profession, at a time when medical science was in a crude and empiric stage of development, that this great movement was launched by one of its illustrious members, Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, a physician of international reputation, an ardent patriot, and a leading statesman.

In this country, after the French and Indian wars, the use of distilled spirits became more common, and during the Revolutionary war distilled liquors were freely furnished to the soldiers by vote of the Continental Congress under the fatal delusion that it was necessary in order to endure the hardships and dangers to which they were exposed in that severe struggle. After the war they carried out with them into all parts of the country the liquor habit they had then formed. During the next forty years intemperance in the United States attained its most frightful proportions.

During the period of the war Dr. Rush had written a pamphlet in which he emphatically declared that the use of rum undermined the system and laid the foundation for most of the diseases which occurred in military hospitals, further stating that the abstraction of rum from our soldiers would contribute greatly to promote discipline and a faithful discharge of duty among them. This warning passed unheeded.

The first important publication on the subject came also from the pen of Dr. Rush in 1785: "An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Mind

and Body." This treatise was largely instrumental in awakening public attention to the subject and was the beginning of the educational movement on temperance. One of the early results was the organization in 1826 in Boston of "The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance." In this inceptive period the advocates of temperance had no conception of total abstinence from all alcoholic liquors; they did not go beyond the moderate use of distilled liquors, putting no restrictions whatever on the use of fermented liquors.

The next national temperance movement was that of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, organized in Cincinnatti in 1874. This was the anti-saloon movement; but after some years of work along these lines, these women wisely decided that a man's habits became so strongly fastened on him in his early youth and manhood that any real reform must be based on an educational drive in childhood. So the subject of the pernicious effects of alcohol on the human body was introduced into the schools.

At the centennial conference of 1885 National Prohibition was urged on the grounds that the use of alcoholic beverages does greater injury to the individual and to society than any other single cause, even pestilence itself. It was at that time stated that the loss to the nation in deaths due to alcohol, and the wreckage of human life due to the same cause since the Civil war, was greater than the annual loss during the years of that war, the number of drink victims being put at 60,000 yearly.

War and the Temperance Movement in Great Britain.—As had been the case in the United States, it was the combined result of the efforts of the medical profession and the observation of the deteriorating effects of alcohol on the troops in time of war that concentrated the

attention of the British government on the regulation of the alcohol traffic.

In 1825 the Royal College of Physicians sent to the House of Commons a collective expression of the medical profession against the use of intoxicating liquors, and at the close of the eighteenth century scientific men attacked the use of intoxicating liquors as producing the prevailing vices and evils of their times.

But it was the Boer war that really opened the eyes of statesmen on the subject. During this war it was found that the average Englishman did not measure up to the standards of recruiting, and that the average soldier in the field manifested a low plane of vitality and endurance. Parliament, alarmed at the disastrous consequences, instituted an investigation. The Commission appointed brought in a finding that alcoholic poisoning was the great cause of national degeneracy. The investigations of this Commission have been supplemented by those of scientific bodies and individual scientists, all arriving at the same conclusion.

2. The European Scientific Hygienic Movement of 1873.—The ethical movement had been to a certain extent palliative, but it could never have removed the drink evil from the nations of the world, nor prevented the degeneration of the human race through this insidious poison. Ethics is the handmaiden which ministers toward racial progress, but science is the master which holds in its hands the destinies of nations and of the race.

This great scientific movement, whose foundations were so well laid in the German universities, beginning with the discoveries of Kraepelin in 1873, which were later taken up by the European Anti-alcohol Congresses, has revolutionized the attitude of the great nations composing the Entente Alliance on the use of alcoholic

beverages. The facts then proved by science placed beyond cavil the necessity of absolute prohibition in order to secure the highest efficiency of the individual and of the nation. It opened up a new era in the history of the progress and evolution of the human race, whose lasting effects will go far toward neutralizing the awful decimation caused by the Great War.

Alcohol, Psychic Reaction, and Efficiency.—Prof. Kraepelin undertook the investigation of the influence of various drugs on psychic reaction. When he came to alcohol, he tells us he hoped to discover beneficial reactions which might counterbalance the obviously injurious ones.

Before these experiments Kraepelin shared the popular belief that a small quantity of alcohol, one or two teaspoonfuls, had an accelerating effect on the activity of the mind, enabling one to perform test operations, such as adding, subtracting, and learning figures more rapidly. When he came to measure the time with his instruments, the exact period and the time occupied, he found to his astonishment that he had accomplished the mental operations not more but less quickly than before, thereby showing that alcohol has a primary deceptive influence on the mind, interfering with the power of forming correct judgments.

In all of the various experiments increasing the dose on a graduated scale from 30 to 60 grams gave progressively unfavorable results. Further tests in adding, memorizing, reading of print, and tests of strength with the dynamometer all showed, after taking from 20 to 30 grains of alcohol, a lowered capacity. Thus it was proven that alcohol lengthens the time required to perform complex mental processes. These experiments, reported in 1892, had to do with the influence of alcohol within two hours after taking.

Equally striking were the tables made to illustrate the qualitative influence of alcohol on psychic reaction. Fuerer's experiments indicated that an intoxication too slight to cause observable symptoms, lowered the capacity to memorize and to correlate the association of ideas, as late as the third day after the alcohol was taken. Dr. Fuerer emphasized the enormous quantity of work values which go to waste as the result of the ordinary use of alcoholic drinks.

It was next proved that there was a certain sequence in the poisoning action of alcohol; first the judgment is affected; then coördination, and finally the reflexes.

Science has shown that alcohol, even in moderate quantities, causes disturbance in the brain's action and paralyzes the critical capacity, power of will, the ethical and esthetic senses, and lowers self-control, and that the continued use of alcohol lowers the body's resistance to all kinds of disease, especially the infections, and shortens life.

Alcohol and Race Degeneracy.—The greatest danger, however, in the regular use of alcohol is the degeneration of the race. The progeny of the regular drinker inherit a generally inferior physique, especially a weakened nervous system. This danger has been increased more recently by the fact that women have fallen under the influence of the general drinking customs. Since the mothers of the coming generation have been attacked by this chronic poisoning, degeneration must proceed at a considerably quickened pace.

Dr. Ploetz, a pioneer worker in the field of race hygiene, says: "Many who imagine themselves in the category of the wholly moderate, must actually be placed in a lower category; they are, without realizing it, producing slightly degenerate children. There is a lowering of the

reserve forces and a breaking down of the power of regeneration." Furthermore a great number of those in this class of so-called moderate drinkers can so depress the number of variable variants that no regeneration or elimination can restore the level capacity of the race as a whole. As it has taken generations to develop the standard capacity, even the slightest diminution of race capital must be attacked with the greatest vigor, for these work more harm to the race than even drunkards, since the elimination through sterility is much less. Alcohol is not only a personal, but a race poison; the holy stream of life is muddled by it.

Alcohol and Heredity.—Drunkenness is not hereditary. You cannot transmit vice, but a certain diathesis can be transmitted; a certain predisposition and environment do the rest. What you do transmit is a certain nervous organization in which your particular vices most readily take root; whether that potentiality be developed or checked is within the will of your child.

The London Lancet says: "Alcoholic parents are liable to have children who are degenerate, weak in body, and feeble in mind, with a tendency to become paupers, criminals, epileptics, and drunkards." They inherit a tendency toward vice, though the impulse may not be especially toward the drunken form. In this weakening and degrading of the race the alcoholic mother bears a heavier responsibility than her mate.

Science now contends that many an alcohol-cursed career had its foundation in the nursing stage, for the babe at the most impressionable period of its life imbibes alcohol from its mother's breast. It has been repeatedly proved that alcohol is present in the milk when the mother has taken spirituous beverages in excess.

Breast-fed infants nursed by mothers who use alcohol

are more liable to have convulsions and are more restless and irritable than the infants of non-drinking mothers. Further, the inability of many mothers to nurse their children is one of the hereditary results of alcoholism. The germ cells of alcoholic parents are defective and cannot evolve a healthy body. This is given as the reason for so large a percentage of functional and organic diseases among the children of drinking parents. The number of still-births and the mortality is also very much greater among the children of alcoholic parents.

It has also been proved that these children, particularly those of drinking mothers, are struck about the period of adolescence with a sudden abatement of their mental faculties. They seem normal enough until about the age of twelve or fourteen, when they are suddenly taken without any apparent reason with a mental inertia or apathy and with an insensibility or indifference to morality. Many of them become permanent mental defectives. It has been suggested that many of our moron women, whom the Binet test prove to have only the mental capacity of twelve- or thirteen-year-old girls, and from whose ranks prostitutes are largely recruited, are thus cursed because of alcoholic parentage. This statement also applies to our gunmen and gangsters, who show similar traits of mental decadence and moron incapacity.

Lastly, statistics have shown that a very large amount of sterility is, in a great degree, due to alcohol; that is, with an increased consumption of alcohol there has been a diminution of the birth-rate. In the United States, in the year 1914, the birth-rate had fallen 11.4 per cent.

If one considers the possibility of the prevention of congenital defects due to the use of alcohol by the parents, and, furthermore, sterility due to the same cause,

the removal of the cause is certainly of prime importance to the race and to the nation.

3. The European Social Reform Movement.—This was the natural result of the scientific-hygienic character of its Anti-alcohol Congresses. It is no longer to urge men to abandon a vice; one has but to show them the advantages to the individual and to the race which modern hygiene associates with an abstinent life. The aim is to convince the worker of the immense heightening of personal effectiveness and class resources which would follow the general abandonment of the use of alcohol.

The demand to-day is for men of energy and strong wills. The modern man must determine his own course, must control himself, and assist in the systematic transformation of our complicated social life. Courage and initiative are the watchwords of the reform-hungry present. Self-determination and self-control are the great demands of modern ethics; and by these ethics alcohol is to be judged and condemned; for it weakens, superficializes and deteriorates the power of apprehension, undermines the capacity for thinking, endangers the activities of fancy, and weakens the will and power of accountability.

In answer to the frequent argument raised that prohibition is an intrusion of personal liberty, social economists contend that a certain restriction of individual freedom must be made in the interest of society, as in the case of Sunday rest, workmen's protective laws, etc. The degeneracy among the children of drinkers makes drinking a very much broader question than one of individual rights.

Every kind of alcoholic beverage has its own particular method of acting on the nervous system and the brain.

The most sinister thing about beer is its apparent harmlessness. Contrary to the generally accepted belief, beer is proportionately more noxious than are wines and liquors; for in addition to the small glass of alcohol in each pint of beer, it also contains a large and varying percentage of lupulin, the active principle of hops. The alkaloids too have a stupefying action on the nerves.

In addressing the Swedish Parliament in 1910, Prof. Thyrén said: "As to the economic side of the question: if any given reform calculated to make the great body of social units not merely more thrifty but physically more vigorous, and so in every respect more valuable economically, to say nothing of the outlays in hospitals, asylums, and prisons, that reform cannot, in the long run, be held back on fiscal grounds."

Alcohol and Moral Degeneration.—It has been found that one-half of the drunkards contract the habit before they are twenty-one years of age and about one-third of them before they are sixteen.

Alcohol attacks the evolution of the race in the moral sphere of character, and this is the first sign of chronic alcoholism. Every drunkard is a liar and knows that he is, and he has no faith in any man. Always there is the arrogant glorification of self and the sneering cynicism of others. He cannot see above his own level. Social evil is so kneaded into the alcoholic evil that they cannot be dissociated. Drink and unchastity are inseparable twins.

This loss of character is even a more serious thing for a nation than the economic loss, and must be reckoned as about 50 per cent., with an economic loss of 21 per cent. The full significance of this statement lies in the fact that in the average standard of its citizens hangs the fate of its institutions and the life of the nation itself,

since it has become an axiom of history that if the standard of character is below a certain minimal level a nation cannot enjoy self-government!

Thus far, whenever city life has come to predominate, the nation has been doomed. Resting upon degenerates, its institutions have been blighted; and sooner or later, in the struggle for survival, when struck by a foreign foe it has fallen, never to rise again. Rome made the deepest imprint upon history because it was the longest rural and frugal. While undegenerate it conquered the world, and upon the true principles of jurisprudence and justice reared a wonderful system of free institutions.

Sexual Immorality.—The action induced in the brain through the use of alcoholic beverages is in the nature of a progressive paralysis, beginning with the highest level and its most delicate functions and gradually spreading down through the lower. Moral qualities and the higher processes of intelligence are therefore first invaded, the moral qualities so painfully acquired in the long years of evolution. This is the most delicate part of the mental machinery, that which has been most recently and most fragilely built up in the evolution of character, the moral part.

As we have already seen, alcohol even in minute quantities is toxic. In exact proportion to the quantity taken is the impairment of the moral nature, and by just so much is the character impaired. The moral standards sag and sway. The man or woman has let down the bars; the entire man is looser. The higher process of intelligence will go on with delicate precision after the moral faculties are disordered, and therein lies the monstrous peril.

The next physiologic step is that the finer part of a man's mentality becomes the victim of the toxic paralysis;

next the associated group of judgment cells are invaded. When the judgment goes off guard and the emotions are uncontrolled, that man or woman will break the moral law.

Wine warms the cockles of the heart; it clouds the brain with a pleasurable mist wherein disagreeable memories are obscured; it loosens the reins of judgment and daring risks seem paltry things. Life seems like a sporting venture.

It is conservatively estimated that 40 per cent. of sexual immorality is caused by drink. Indeed, as the result of the investigations made in penitentiaries, reformatories, workhouses and hospitals, many are inclined to place the rate much higher.

According to the statistics of Prof. Forel, who probably knows more on the subject than any one else, approximately 75 per cent. of venereal diseases are contracted by men under the influence of alcohol, chiefly by persons slightly intoxicated and rendered thereby more excitable and irresponsible. The suffering, the misery, the heartaches and the broken homes that this entails is incalculable.

Prof. Masaryk, of the University of Prague, says: "Drink damages the relation of man to woman. These are coarsened and degraded. Modern investigations indubitably teach that drinking corrupts the sex life of our day. Alcoholism and prostitution are the chief factors in the degeneration of nations."

Alcohol and Prostitution.—From the earliest times intoxicating drink has been associated with prostitution. Through the pages of social history almost from the beginning of civilization, alcohol figures as the evil genius of sex life. Every Commission that has studied prostitution agrees with the Chicago report which refers to

alcohol as the most conspicuous and important element next to prostitution itself. The exploiters of vice are keen to take advantage of the intimate, subtle association of intoxicating drink with sexual immorality, and to use it in commercializing the weakness of human nature.

It has been demonstrated that small doses of alcohol paralyze the inhibitory or controlling centers, and as a result of suppression of the inhibitions, the intoxicated person becomes suggestible; that is, open to the flood of his or her own emotions and to the stimulation of the various factors in the immediate environment.

It is this condition of emphasized, accentuated suggestibility that accounts in part at least for the tremendous influence of alcohol in sex morals. As Bloch puts it: "Alcohol prepares the way for moral lapses." In case there is in the mind of the intoxicated person or in the moral atmosphere of the group in which the drunken man finds himself, a tendency toward certain conduct, that individual's will is very frequently incapable of withstanding the suggestion, even if the meaning of such suggestion is taken into consideration by him. What more common method is employed in bringing about the moral lapses of young men or girls than the use of strong drink in an atmosphere of suggestive immorality?

Intoxicating drink is an important factor in the career of every prostitute. It loosens the bands of restraint, and over and over again permits the passions to expend themselves in the most dangerous ways. Meanwhile a desire for alcohol grows up. Acts committed first under its influence, after a while are committed for the sake of drink itself, and the victim becomes accustomed to relationships against which, formerly, horror would have been felt. Desire for drink has long been recognized as

playing an important part in the drift toward prostitution. Prostitutes insensibly accustom themselves to the liquor habit, until the practice becomes so strong as to preclude all chance of returning to a better state, and finishes by plunging them into the lowest depths of brutality.

In houses of prostitution alcohol is used in four distinct ways: (1) to attract a clientèle; (2) as a means of incitement; (3) as a stimulant to women, without which the prostitute would be stupid and spiritless; (4) as a source of profit to the madam. Drunkenness is almost universal among confirmed prostitutes, and drinking is quite general among the frequenters of disorderly houses.

4. Alcohol and the Great War.—The first three years of the Great War did more to solve the alcohol problem for the State and for the individual than the one hundred years which preceded it; but this rapid solution was based on the scientific and educational work of all those years. Extensive experiments had been carried out on soldiers as to the effect of alcohol on their efficiency in precision shooting, rapid firing, and endurance; also on their endurance in marching, etc. These tests conclusively proved the great superiority of the total abstainer over the man who drank only a small amount of alcoholic beverages.

The danger of drunkenness in times of peace had become in war-time a monstrous peril. Every soldier realized it; every statesman saw it. For the unprepared Allies to grapple with the black Hun who for forty years had been training his army and navy in efficiency, discipline, and the most atrocious forms of frightfulness, unequaled even by his good ally the Turk, the need of sobriety was imperative indeed. The solution of the problem was swift and drastic; the manufacture and sale of the stronger kinds of alcoholic drinks were prohibited.

France was first in this as she always has been first in the noblest missions of humanity. The day after war was ruthlessly and lawlessly declared on her by the Hun, she prohibited the sale of absinthe in all of France. This was merely a military decree, but as soon as the French parliament met it passed a law prohibiting forever the manufacture, importation, and sale of that worst kind of alcoholic drink.

Long ago the fight on absinthe had begun, but insurmountable obstacles had been in the way. These were the banded forces of the manufacturers and dealers on the one side and the great revenue of hundreds of millions of francs a year which it brought into the treasury. Indeed in every country in the world state finance has been the rock behind which the liquor interests took refuge. The conscience of the nations had become as torpid as that of the brewer, as blunted and deformed as that of the distiller, until war came and woke them up.

War gave the sudden lesson that the nations needs cannot be measured in terms of money. Torn away from the petty considerations of greed, the State was forced to face the great question of the conservation of its people, on whom its future depended, and in spite of the distillers, drunkards, and financiers, France decreed the great reform which laid down the principle of State prohibition, and the State said: "I have the right to ask of each man his life and his goods in the face of this fierce aggression, now that the Huns are at the gate; and surely I have a right to ask him to sacrifice his profits and his vices, even in the time of peace, when they destroy the welfare of the nation."

Then the voice of Russia was heard. There the peasants drank, and when their money was gone they pawned

their plows and their carts, their tools and their clothing; pawned their unsown crops and mortgaged all that they owned. The drink-shops and the pawn-shops were one.

Almost from the beginning of its existence the Duma took up the question of temperance, and in January, 1914, a drastic bill was passed for local option in the various communes, which practically assured a majority for prohibition. The Czar had been won over, by a tour of inspection, to the necessity for a temperance reform.

Against the will of the people to stop it were the liquor interests and the Minister of Finance, who argued that one-third of the revenues of the state came from vodka, but war gave the people their chance, and by a stroke of his pen the Czar decreed the abolition of vodka.

War is sacrificial. It demands of the nation the supreme sacrifice. At such a time a nation yields the more readily the lesser sacrifice; it throws into the melting-pot not only its jewels and fine gold, but its vices as well.

Russia had learned her lesson from the Russo-Japanese war. In 1904 the men came drunk from their homes to the centers; one saw them about the streets and on the railways and in the gutters. In this war Russia was struck sober from the first, for close upon the ukase prohibiting the manufacture and sale of vodka, came the Imperial edict which debarred even beer and wine from Russia.

Russia became a prohibition country at a cost of $500,000,000 annually in revenue. In spite of this, on the following January the Minister of Finance declared that all business conditions had improved and were improving. This fact was due, in the first place, to the greater productivity of labor following the cessation of the sale of spirits; and this increased productivity was

said to be from 30 per cent. to 50 per cent., sufficiently large to make up for the shortage of labor due to the war. When asked how Russia was going to make up her revenue, the Minister of Finance said: "It is a thousand million rubles gone. We need only the same sum that we did before the war, and we find that we have it in the renewed vigor, resourcefulness, and working capacity of our people. Heads of large concerns employing labor said that they would pay in cold cash the sums that were necessary to cover the deficit in the revenue, if that were necessary; and they could afford the money easily, by reason of the increased capacity of their employes. The question of the thousand million rubles will naturally take care of itself."

The United States and Prohibition.—That the Great War was the immediate cause of the almost revolutionary change of sentiment of the people of the United States as voiced by Congress, on the vital necessity of prohibition to conserve the individual and therefore the national efficiency is clearly shown by the respective actions taken by Congress on this subject. In December, 1914, prohibition was defeated in the House of Representatives by a vote of 197 to 189; three years later, in December, 1917, by a vote of 282 to 128 the House of Representatives adopted the resolution proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. On the following day the Senate by a vote of 47 to 8, concurred in the joint resolution adopted by the House, providing for a vote by the States on the nation-wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution.

In January, 1919, this action of Congress was ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states. In

January, 1920, the Prohibition Amendment, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the manufacture, sale, and importation of liquor will go into effect.

That the now powerful Democracy of the United States should take the lead on this great fundamental question involved in making "Democracy safe for the World" was to have been expected.

CHAPTER VI

WHY IS A MAN A MAN? WHY IS A WOMAN A WOMAN? WHAT ARE THE SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH SEX?

Why is a Woman a Woman; The Relation of Sex to Nutrition; the Natality and Mortality of the Two Sexes; the Importance of Sexual Selection on the Development of the Race; the Laws of Heredity: (1) *The Secondary Physical Characteristics;* (2) *the Secondary Physiologic Characteristics;* (3) *the Secondary Intellectual Characteristics; the Inventive Genius; the Variational Tendency in Men; Women's Adventitious Character.*

The Hebrew man stood up in the Temple twice a day and thanked God that he had not been born a woman. And the Hebrew woman stood up with downcast eyes and arms meekly folded across the breast and thanked God that he had made her as seemed good to Him.

In order that woman should reach the same standards as man she ought, when nearly adult, to be trained to energy and perseverance; and to have her reason and imagination exercised to the highest point; and then she would probably transmit these qualities to her adult daughters.—Darwin: Descent of Man.

If there is any distinctive *group psychology*, it must be that of the group of men and the group of women. Men and women are organically different, which means that the physiologic differentiation in the reproductive system involves a contrasted psychology. There are also further degrees and varieties of differentiation, secondary ranges of contrasted qualities in men and women,

growing out of the primary mental differences, likewise to be regarded as derivative sex traits.

The structure and function of the two sexes are comprehensively similar; sex does not monopolize function, though it may dominate. Even the distinct sex features of each sex are found in undeveloped form in the other. Supplementary to the fact that men and women are predominantly human and subject to like yet not identical conditions of growth, maturity, variation, and disease, every man exhibits feminine traits and every woman masculine traits.

Why is a Woman a Woman?—That question has been asked ever since people learned to question. The Ancients said "it was because of her womb;" modern savants say "it is because of her ovaries;" but modern science more exactly says "it is because of the secretion of the ovaries and other glands, notably that of the thyroid."

Precisely in a similar way man is also man because of the secretion of the testes and other internal organs. These secretions, which are many and emanate from various parts of the body, necessarily have different and even opposed functions in the two sexes. Their action and reaction are highly complex and difficult to unravel; some glands aid and supplement; others balance and hold in check the influence of the rest. Their multiple operations are beginning to make clear how it is that a man is not all man, nor a woman all woman. Sexuality, we are beginning to learn, is a far more fundamental and ineradicable characteristic of man and woman than many have hitherto consented to believe.

"There exists a considerable period in life while we are carried under the heart of the mother, when it is

absolutely impossible to tell, from examining the embryo, which is male and which is female; even when the development of the genital organs has made considerable progress. And not until the end of the third month is it possible to say with certainty which is male and which is female."[1]

We must remember that at a very early embryonic period certain groups of cells are reserved to form the sexual glands later on. These cells are at first neither male nor female, but are undifferentiated; later on they become differentiated to form in certain individuals called males, the testicles with their spermatozoa; and in the others, called females, the ovaries with their contained ovules. On this differentiation depends the sex of the individual, and accordingly as it takes place one way or the other all of the rest of the body develops with correlative sexual characters of the corresponding sex. The individual has then arrived at the parting of the ways!

The sexual glands, being of undifferentiated origin as we have seen, contain the energies of both sexes. Man possesses the rudiments of the sexual characteristics of woman, such as nipples without lactiferous glands, etc. In a general way each part of the genital organs of one sex has its corresponding embryonic homologue in the other, which is explained by the different transformations, which were originally the same in the embryo. The clitoris in woman corresponds to the penis in the male; the labia majora to the scrotum, etc.

The three fundamental causes of woman's social, economic, religious, and political subjugation, not only by primitive man, but by the man of ancient civilizations, were: the mystic because incomprehensible func-

[1] Ploss: *Das Weib.*

tion of menstruation in woman, so unlike any normal physiologic function in man; the theory that man alone was invested with the procreative power, and finally that woman was a soulless animal. The end of the eighteenth century in Europe, and more especially in England and France, was marked by a widespread resolve to reason clearly concerning the reason and nature of things and so far as possible to cast off prejudice; and it could not fail to touch the question concerning the status of woman. Such problems were no longer left to work themselves out in unobserved silence.

The *menstrual function*, that *bête noire* of primitive man became at a very early date a stigma on woman and led to her social and economic undoing. Modern science has demonstrated that the function of the uterus is to provide a suitable place for the reception of the product of conception, where it may be protected and nourished during the period of its development, and that the purpose of menstruation is to keep the uterus in suitable condition for the reception of the product of conception.

It is now known that the menstrual flow is not the whole of menstruation, and that the changes going on in the uterus are almost as continuous as the process of digestion. The whole of the reproductive life of woman has been divided into cycles of twenty-eight days each, and these cycles have been divided into four stages. The first stage is the constructive one, or that of preparation for the reception of the ovum. This is the nest-building period, in which there is a swelling of the mucous membrane, an enlargement of the uterine glands, and an increase in the connective tissue. It is supposed to last for one week. The second or the destructive stage gives rise to the usual phenomena of the menstrual flow; there

is a discharge of blood, mucus, and disintegrated mucous membrane. The third or reparative stage, as its name indicates, is one of repair. By constructive changes the epithelial lining which was thrown off is replaced by a new one, formed in three or four days. The fourth or quiescent stage includes the remaining twelve or fourteen days of the menstrual cycle prior to the initiative changes which mark the beginning of the next period.

The Functions of the Thyroid Gland.—The thyroid gland is absolutely larger in women than it is in men; it is relatively large in childhood and diminishes considerably in size in old age. It is now an established fact that the specific qualities of femininity are not entirely dependent on the secretions of the ovaries, but rather on the harmonious balance of a number of secretions, high in importance among them being that of the thyroid. It is believed that the thyroid gland exerts a leading part in directing the needs of the whole body, in accordance with the needs of the generative system.

It would appear that the thyroid is not only intimately associated with the genital, but also with the psychic life of woman, and it has been suggested that it cannot fail to leave a mark on woman's character and mental attributes. In women of high intellectual ability the sexual impulses are often highly developed, and this may find a plausible explanation in the stimulating influence of the thyroid in women, alike in the sexual and psychic spheres.

How important a part the secretions of the testes and ovaries play in the normal physical and mental life of the individual may be seen from the fact that when castration or the extirpation of the sexual glands; that is, the testes in the male and the ovaries in the female, takes place in infancy, it causes a considerable change in the

subsequent development of the body, even more marked in man than it is in woman. Man becomes more slender, preserves a high, infantile voice and his correlative sexual characters are very incompletely developed, sometimes not at all. In both sexes there is a tendency to neuroses and degeneration. The removal of the sexual glands in the adult does not sensibly modify the body.

Thus we see that the internal secretions of the essential sex organs, together with those of some of the other glands, determine the normal characteristic traits of the male and female sex. These traits are classified into four chief groups: (1) The biologic or physical; (2) the physiologic or functional; (3) the intellectual; (4) the psychologic. There is in addition to these a very important group of abnormal sex traits known as adventitious traits, due to the artificial conditions of life.

We can more intelligently take up this part of our subject after first having considered the relation of sex to nutrition, the natality and mortality of the two sexes, and the general laws of sexual heredity.

The Relation of Sex to Nutrition.—The researches of Düsing, supplemented by those of Ploss and Westermarck, seem to demonstrate a direct connection between an abundance of nutritive material and female births, and a scarcity of food and male births in both the relatively high animal forms and in man. Reserving our attention to the latter, in high altitudes where nutrition is scant, the birth-rate of boys is high as compared with the lower altitudes of the same locality. More boys are born in the country than in the cities, because in the latter the diet is richer, especially in meats.

In times of war, famine, and migration more boys are born in poor than in well-to-do families. European statistics show that when foodstuffs are high or scarce

the number of marriages diminishes. In consequence a diminished number of births follows a heightened percentage of boys, while, on the other hand, with the return of prosperity and an increased number of marriages and births, the percentage of female births rises, though it never numerically equals that of the males. More children are born from warm weather than from cold weather conceptions, but relatively more boys from cold weather conceptions. During the period of the present war these statistics are again being confirmed, as there is a great excess of male births in both Germany and France.

The Natality and Mortality of the Two Sexes.—It is well known that in England and most European countries there are more males than females born. In some countries the proportion is as high as 106 males to 100 females, but at the age of five years, owing to the greater mortality of the males, the sexes are about in numeric proportion. In the adult population of all European countries the average numeric relation of the sexes is about 102.1 women to 100 men.[1]

It was formerly supposed that war and the various hazardous occupations of men were alone sufficient to account for their greater mortality. That they are the chief factors, there does not seem to be any reason to doubt, but they are by no means the sole ones. These, as well as man's indulgence in alcoholic and other excesses, can only be considered as causative factors in youth and adult life. As a matter of fact and observation, it is in the very earliest and latest periods of life that the mortality of the males is most clearly marked.

Further, the proportion of still-born children is much more frequently male than female. In Belgium, during

[1] All statistics refer to the period previous to the Great War.

the period fron 1860 to 1865, the proportion of still-born children was 100 females to not less than 136 males.

Owing to their smaller size, girls at the outset possess a much better chance of slipping safely into the world, and for some little time after birth natal injuries would be operative. The larger size of the male head can only be a factor at birth and for a short time afterward, but during the entire first year of life the mortality is higher among male than female children. It has further been suggested that this greater mortality of males at this time "must depend on some constitutional difference." Male children are also much more apt to succumb to diseases during the first dentition.

From the third to the fifth year of life there does not seem to be much difference in the mortality of the two sexes, but this is no doubt due to the greater mortality of the males during the first year of life as only the more robust of a very large number are left free to compete with the smaller but apparently more vigorous females.

From the fifth to the twentieth year the female mortality is greater than the male, this period being especially dangerous for women. After the thirty-fifth year there is a difference in favor of women, which steadily increases. Four-fifths of the excess of women in England are widows.[1] The further we proceed toward the extreme of life, the greater is the preponderance of women.

The Distinctive Pathologic Liability of the Sexes.—All of the evidence brought together points with a varying degree of certainty to the conclusion that there exists a greater physical frailty of men and a greater tenacity of life in women. It is quite probable that the lesser resistance of men is due merely to the greater liability to destructive influences from within than from

[1] Longstaff: Studies and Statistics in England and Wales.

without, so that under equalized conditions there would be no sexual difference.

The above conclusions are in harmony with those gathered from the zoölogic field. The female is the mother of a new generation and has a closer and more permanent connection with the care of the young. She is of greater importance than the male, from nature's point of view, and we therefore find that the female, in spite of her greater affectability by minor stimuli, is more youthful, more resistant to adverse influences, and is longer lived than the male.

The recent improvement in the death-rate has benefited women more than men. There is also a greater disvulnerability of women, which means that they endure surgical operations better, are more tolerant of pain, illness, and pathologic maladjustments. They also resist physiologic invasion and accident more successfully than men. Such tolerance is shown by records of surgical cases, statistics of recovery from disease, observations of behavior under illness, endurance of prison régime, relative freedom from suicide (three men to one woman), and particularly to suicide due to misery and want, which is from seven to ten times as frequent among men. Degenerative diseases of the arteries are also less common in women. The majority of sudden deaths from internal or pathologic causes occur in men.

The Importance of Sexual Selection on the Development of the Race.—The history of sexual selection must be divided into two stages. The first stage is that when this prerogative was exercised by primitive woman during the period of limited promiscuity and of the matriarchy; men being in great excess were therefore the natural wooers. The second stage is represented by the patriarchy, when man either captured or at a later

period purchased his wife or wives. We shall see just how each stage reacted on man and woman.

Darwin has shown that even among the lower vertebrates the female most commonly gives preference to the most vigorous, defiant, and mettlesome male. A similar instinctive appreciation of manly strength and courage is found in women, especially those of the savage races. "This power to exercise taste and discrimination implies a degree of intelligence far in advance of that of the males and constitutes a law almost as general as the eagerness of the male."

We may infer that woman's instinctive inclination to strong and courageous men is due to natural selection in two ways: A strong man is not only the father of strong children, but is also better able than a weak man to protect and provide for his offspring. This female instinct is especially well marked at the lower stages of civilization, because bodily vigor is then of the utmost importance in the struggle for existence. Sexual selection resembles artificial selection, save that the female takes the place of the breeder. In other words she represents the intelligent factor or cause of the operation involved. If this be true, if it is through her will or through some agency or tendency latent in her constitution that *sexual selection* comes into play, then she is the primary cause of the very characters, as we shall see later, through which man's superiority over woman has been gained.

"He who admits the principle of sexual selection will be led to the remarkable conclusion that the nervous system not only regulates most of the functions of the body, but has indirectly influenced the progressive development of the various bodily structures and certain mental qualities. Courage, pugnacity, perseverance,

strength, and size of body, weapons of all kinds, musical organs, both vocal and instrumental, bright colors and ornamental appendages have all been indirectly gained by the one sex over the other, through the exertion of choice, the influence of love and jealousy, and the appreciation of the beautiful in sound, color or form. These powers of mind manifestly depend on the development of the brain."[1]

That is to say, that while the female has been performing the higher functions in the process of reproduction, through force of will, or through her power of choice, she has also been the directing and controlling agency in the development of those characters in the male through which, when the human species was reached, man was enabled to attain a limited degree of progress.

During the long centuries of the patriarchy, when man gained his wives by capture or by purchase, the matter of sexual selection became his prerogative, and the woman had very little or no say at all in the matter. Since the male seems to be ready to pair with any female, provided she belongs to the same species, and as this probably depends on the great strength of his sexual impluses, we may infer that in primitive times, when man had a definite pairing season, he displayed a like tendency; sexual selection, in proportion as it has become less intense, becoming more discriminating. Even now woman is more particular in her choice than man, provided that the union takes place without regard to interest.

In the patriarchal stage, man naturally mated with the most perfect woman, according to the prevailing ideas of beauty and perfection of the times. Under this new form of selection woman was transformed from the

[1] Darwin: The Descent of Man.

stern and peerless ruler of the household destiny into an ornament of the seraglio and a plaything for man; her only important function in life then became the propagation of the species.

In primitive society, as we have seen, every unit was a producer; the forces which withdrew women from labor were the expressions of later social conditions. Speaking broadly, these considerations were the desire of men to preserve the beauty of women, and also their desire to withdraw them from association with other men. It is the connection in thought and fact between beautiful women and wealth. The exemption of women from labor expressed in fact an economic surplus, which early society did not possess.

Woman, deprived of exercising her normal physiologic powers through vocational and intellectual occupations, was forced into a life of introspection, which was centered in the sexual sphere, and at the same time even chastity of body was demanded both of the virgin and wife. It may be said that during the past five thousand years the one vocation and means of subsistence allowed woman was the exercise of the reproductive functions. When that state of society was reached in which women greatly outnumbered the men, even this means of subsistence was denied to women of the socially better classes, while those of the lower classes were driven into prostitution as an open trade.

Hence it resulted that owing to the peculiar environments in which woman was placed, she lost her natural physical development and vigor, and instead became frail and alarmingly neurasthenic. Some thirty years ago one of our eminent medical authorities said: "The world seems to be one vast hospital for women, and every kindness done seems that extended to an invalid."

The great change that has been wrought in the physique of women since that period; her physical and mental development through gymnastic, athletic, and vocational training; her higher education and entrance into the professional and vocational occupations, only goes to confirm the vast detriment that resulted not only to woman herself, but to the race and civilization as well, by her criminal repression through all these thousands of years.

The Laws of Heredity.—From the laws of heredity it results that every human being reproduces more or less identically the whole life of its parents and less remote ancestors, and constitutes the continuation of life from a very minute part of their bodies. Each individual thus represents an entire cycle of development, which is peculiar to all individuals of the species.

Children may bear a striking resemblance to a paternal grandfather, a maternal grand-aunt, a maternal great-grandmother, etc. This is called atavism. Physical as well as intellectual and psychologic traits may thus be transmitted by heredity; not only the intelligence and the will, but the finest shades of sentiment, to the most insignificant details of the nails, the form of the bones, etc.

Further, each individual, on the average inherits as much from his paternal as from his maternal side, in spite of the fact that the ovule is much larger than the spermatozoa. It is believed that it is only from the part of the nucleus of the ovule which conjugates with the male nucleus that all of the inherited maternal peculiarities arise, and that the rest of the egg is only utilized as food; the nutritive blood of the mother, it is believed, in no way influences the inherited qualities of the offspring.

If boys and girls inherited equally from their fathers

and mothers, the balance of the sexes, physically, morally, and intellectually, would not have been so greatly disturbed. According to Darwin, males have a preponderating tendency to inherit from their fathers and females from their mothers. This, however, should be modified by the statement that boys inherit from the maternal grandfather, and girls from the paternal grandmother, traits and characteristics which have lain dormant in the father and mother.

Daughters do inherit peculiarities from their fathers and likewise sons from their mothers, but there is a heredity of sex whereby there is a cumulative tendency for boys to inherit more from their fathers than from their mothers; and in the same way for girls to inherit more from their mothers. This tendency, strengthened and augmented for thousands of generations, accounts for the present strength of man and the comparative weakness of woman.

If it be accepted as proved that man's manifest physical superiority over woman to-day is the result of the inheritance of forebears who had developed their frames and muscles by severe and continuous struggles, it is also reasonable to conclude that woman's present mental disabilities have arisen from an unfavorable inheritance.

At the time of the conjugation the qualities of the child will therefore depend on the ancestral qualities of the conjugated ovum and spermatozoön. Moreover, although of the same size, the nuclei which become conjugated are evidently of unequal strength; the energies of the one or the other will predominate later on in the embryo, and still later in the man. According to circumstances, the latter will resemble more or less his paternal or his maternal progenitors. A common woman

will lower the level of the offspring of a distinguished man, and *vice versa*.

It follows, from the study of the ancestral history of man, or phylogeny, that sexual selection, as well as heredity has the right to occupy a fundamental place in the sexual question, for the germs which at conception reproduce a new individual are on the one hand the bearers of the inherited energy of our ancestors and on the other hand the progenitors of future generations.

1. The Secondary Physical Characteristics.—There can be but little doubt that the greater size and strength of man in comparison with woman, together with his broader shoulders and better developed muscles, rugged outlines of body, his greater courage and pugnacity, are all due in chief part to his inheritance from his primitive male ancestors.

In savage races women are physically the equal if not the superiors of men. Woman's smallness of stature, physical inferiority, and lessened powers of endurance must be attributed also to her heredity and the customs of society carried on for thousands of years.

"Among the most primitive peoples the forms of the men and the women are often strikingly similar; the women are masculine and generally muscular in appearance, and the faces of both sexes are often, except for the distribution of the hair, extremely alike."[1]

"We find that in East Central Africa the work is done chiefly by the women. This is universal; they hoe the fields, sow the seed, and reap the harvest. To them too falls the labor of housebuilding, grinding corn, brewing beer, cooking, washing, and caring for almost all of the material interests of the community.

"The men tend the cattle, hunt and go to war; they

[1] Darwin: Origin of Species.

also do all of the tailoring; and spend much time sitting in council over the conduct of affairs. The men also make fish-lines, fish-hooks, spears and other implements; construct dance-masks, head-dresses and all of the paraphernalia for the various ceremonies and dances."[1]

While the men among all primitive people are fitted for work involving violent and brief muscular effort, the women are usually much better able to undergo prolonged and more passive exertion; and they are the universal primitive water carriers. Schellong, who has carefully studied the Papuans in the German protectorate in New Guinea, wrote in 1891 that some of the women have really splendid figures, and from the anthropologic point of view considered that the women were more strongly built than the men.

The heavy, strong, enduring, patient, often dominant type, frequently seen among the lower classes, where woman is still economically functional, is probably representative of what the women of our race were before they were reduced by man to a condition of parasitism, which in our middle and upper classes has profoundly affected their physical, mental, and moral life.

Perhaps the most marked of the secondary physical characteristics is the massing of the hair and the difference in the larynx and voice in the two sexes. The latter is not marked before puberty, but at this time the boy's larynx enlarges and his voice "breaks" and becomes deeper.

The classic description of the modern woman, as distinguishing her from her brother man, is in the shorter stature, smaller muscles, sloping shoulders, broader

[1] James MacDonald: East central African Customs; Jour. Anthropolog. Instit., Aug., 1802.

hips, and shorter arms and legs. The broader pelvis in woman causes a greater distance between the sockets for the thigh bones; hence the marked inward inclination of the thighs which, when it exists in a very marked degree, gives the appearance of knock-knee. The inward inclination is compensated for by the outward inclination of the legs. There is an analogous obliquity in the upper extremities; the forearm is never in a straight line with the arm; and in woman this obliquity is also emphasized. Here again the difference in build enables men to very greatly excel in feats of strength, rapidity in running, and in making the high jump.

A man can carry about double his own weight, while a woman can carry only about one-half of hers. The average male golf player can lift the ball from 120 to 140 yards, while the average female player can only lift it from 70 to 100 yards. On the whole, it may be roughly stated that the muscular strength of man is about one and one-half times as much as that of woman.

Exercise invariably tends to strengthen and develop the muscles and organs which are thus brought into play, while continued disuse leads to their atrophy. When woman ceased to be a producer and was relegated by her lord and master to an ornamental position in the seraglio, both body and mind were suppressed and molded into abnormal and pathologic conditions. Going to the other social extreme, the proletariat, the women were made mere beasts of burden, common drudges whose bodies were misshapen by their abnormally large and constant burdens, and again both body and mind were prevented from following their normal course of development.

According to the laws of sexual heredity, the shortcomings and failures of the mothers are transmitted to

the daughters, and these variations, slight in any one individual variation, are cumulative. In hundreds of thousands of generations there are finally developed marked and distinctive characteristics.

Another fundamental cause of woman's inferior physique and lowered vitality is to be found not only in her own but in her female ancestors' mode of dress for many centuries. Study the physique and mode of dress of the ancient Greeks and then follow the history of dress down through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to the present time. If further need be, visit the savage races of the earth to-day and behold that women of powerful and classic physique still exist in the lands where the body is not molded according to the barbarous decrees of the modiste of fashion.

2. The Secondary Physiologic Characteristics.—Our studies thus far would indicate that it requires more abundant nutrition to develop the female embryo, and that there would appear to be some constitutional difference, which manifests itself in the greater physical frailty of males than in the smaller but apparently more vigorous females.

Moreover, we find that woman represents the constructive, anabolic tendency to store up energy, such as is seen in plants, while man, on the contrary, represents the destructive, catabolic tendency which characterizes animals.

The derivative issues of sex extend to differentiation of capacities, endowments, interests, emotions, sensibilities, and response to social and environmental conditions.

The *social organization* is an outgrowth of these differences and exerts a reflex influence on them. We see this first in the matriarchal system. Woman there,

as everywhere, represents the center of social stability; the point of return of the provider to his own, the indisputable basis of kinship, and through it of the family unity and the tribal consanguinity; the nucleus of the arts and conservative tendencies, the cradle of the effective life in the reciprocal relations of the mother and child, and equally the primary school of discipline and tradition. The reproductive function is thus made the central condition of the social structure, not only in primitive times but throughout the ages.

The directive masculine quality related to, though extending far beyond, the immediate expression of man's sexual nature, is his superior strength and fitness for strenuous activity. Man's sexual ardor is stronger, and through its stress he develops in courtship the struggle for mates and the assertive quality of his nature. Conversely the lesser urgency of the female confers the power of choice and the exercise of selective preference, leading to the employment of qualities connected with the power of attraction. Masculine forcefulness finds its expression in mastery, physical defense, and social authority. Organization through prowess and courage, combat and dominance, promptly assumed the military form as its institutional embodiment. When this became strong enough under favorable traditions, it prevailed above the considerations of descent, and patriarchy replaced matriarchy.

For man his more powerful structure finds expression in his masterful part in the struggle for food and mates, vitalized by his aggressive sexuality; it finds its application in the freer, more constructive, more variable activities and their resulting interests. For woman, with a larger and more rigid determination, owing to the dominance of her organization, makes her reproduc-

tive interests larger, gives her functional activities, once adjusted, a steadier and more regular orbit. The greater morality of woman, bringing her nearer the child type and race-norm, are related to her anabolic habits; and that in turn is a piece of her lesser variability and greater affectability. Furthermore, the avoidance of excessive high pressure energies, by yielding to the initial strain, protects woman from many of the masculine risks, but removes her from the intense concentration of high effort and daring initiative.

Because men are organically catabolic, they are prone to be masterful by mental habit and extravagant as well; the larger, bolder venture is masculine; the closer thrift is feminine. This is the clew to the physiologic expression. Of this the mode of work is typical; the greater strength of man leads to a less constant output of work, of more intense energy in high-tension spurts. The contrast reflects the catabolic spending and the anabolic saving tendencies of the metabolism. This is but one of a group of cumulative and commanding differences.

This contrast, when extended, makes the central physiologic trait of the female to store, to save, to be anabolic in constitution; and that of the male to expend, to react with vigor, to be catabolic. The mode of the circulation, as well as the blood-tests, reinforce this conclusion; associating a high specific gravity, red corpuscles and plentiful hemoglobin with the catabolic constitution of man. The supporting physiologic mechanism indicates a similar adjustment.

Loss of sleep is a strain which, like gestation, women are able to bear because of their anabolic surplus. The fact that women undertake changes more reluctantly than men, but adjust themselves to changed fortunes more

readily, is due to the same metabolic difference. Woman, as we have seen, offers a greater resistance to disease than man. Man is fitted for feats of strength and bursts of energy; woman has more stability and endurance.

3. The Secondary Intellectual Characteristics.—The mental correlative sexual characteristics are more important than those of the body; although they are intimately dependent on the body for their reflex development. The psychology of man is different from that of woman; whatever else may be disputed, all students are unanimous upon this point.

The Brain Weight.—Comparing the brain weights to the body weights, it has almost invariably been found that women possess brains somewhat larger than men's brains, or else they are about the same size. This was ascertained many years ago by a number of observers. More recently Bischoff, in his important and accurate work on the brain, shows similarly that while woman's brain weight is to man's as 90 to 100, woman's body weight is to man's as 83 to 100. Vierordt has also illustrated the fact that relatively to the body weight women have larger brains. It is regarded as proved that in relation to the body weight women's brains are at least as large as men's and usually larger.

"From the purely intellectual point of view man considerably excels woman in his creative imagination, his faculty for imagination and discovery, and by his critical mind. Education is purely an individual matter and only requires one generation to produce results. But neither mnemic engraphia nor selection can modify hereditary energies in two or three generations. Tied down hitherto partly by servitude, the mental powers of women will doubtless arise and flourish in all of their natural power, equal to those of men, as soon as they are

absolutely free to develop in society by the aid of equal rights. But what does not exist in the hereditary mneme, that is to say in the energy of the germs, inherited through thousands or millions of years, cannot be created in a few generations. There is no excuse at the present day for confounding hereditary correlative sexual characters with the individual results of education, because they are acquired by habit and can only be inherited by an infinitesimal engraphia, possibly after hundreds of generations."[1]

On the other hand, woman possesses, from the intellectual point of view, a faculty of reception and comprehension, as well as a facility of reproduction, which are almost equal to those of man.

In the matter of artistic productions, woman is on the average much inferior in creative ability; even her best results are wanting in originality and do not open up new paths, but in the reproductive art, as virtuosos, women compare favorably with men. There are, however, exceptional women, whose productions are original, creative, and independent. That there is a reserve force in women sufficient to overcome the evil results of the supremacy of passion during the last five or six thousand years of human experience would, from the present indications, seem more than likely.

The masculine method of thought is massive and deliberate, while the feminine method is quick to perceive and nimble to act. The latter method is liable to fall into error, but is agile in retrieving an error; and under many circumstances this agility is the prime requisite.

The slighter objectivity of women keeps them aloof from philosophic pursuits and the scientific devotion

[1] Forel.

that reconstructs the interests of life away from the personal, directing them to theorize systems, principles, rigid conclusions, and objective impersonal relations. Woman's conservatism in thought has also been accentuated by the feminine attitude of extreme sensitiveness to the judgment of others.

The feminine concrete persentative habit, that leads to reproducing rather than summarizing a situation; the readier dramatic instincts which confer upon woman the mastery of personal arts; the more fluid, sympathetic adaptability of women to carry situations; the readier use of language for expression; the keener responsiveness to variations in self-esteem and social appraisal which the literal words and tones convey; are some of the psychologic attributes of women, all of which would be useful in the field of politics. Tact is also a distinctly feminine forte; in contrast to the masterful bluntness of man, blundering often by too great directness. Persuasion and cajolery are results of woman's enforced situation of submission. Duplicity is not a prerogative of either sex.

Stuart Mill points out the intuitive gift of woman, by which her individual observations lead her to rapidly and clearly discover a general truth, without troubling about abstract theories. This may be called the intuitive or subconscious judgment of woman. Woman's rapid perceptions and her intuitions indicate undeveloped genius and partake largely of the nature of deductive reasoning. Given the proper opportunities, she will be able to trace the various powers of induction by which she reaches her conclusions. In other words, she will be able to reason inductively up to her deductive conceptions.

The great works thus far accomplished in the world's history have of course been done by men. Woman has only risen to the same great heights as man in the histri-

onic and vocal arts, in which she has equaled and often excelled man. In literature she has been at her best in fiction. In all these endeavors it will be observed that woman was simply displaying the natural developments of her mode of life: acting and story-telling. The exceptional woman who has risen to great heights, albeit not the greatest, is typical of the latent powers which have, from lack of opportunity, lain dormant all these thousands of years in very large numbers of women, only awaiting a propitious time in the world's history to spring into being and activity.

Miss Thompson's findings are probably the most important in this field: "The point to be emphasized as the outcome of this study is that, according to our present light, the psychologic difference of sex seems to be largely due, not to a difference of average capacity, but to differences in the social influences brought to bear on the developing individual from early infancy to adult years. The question of the future development of the intellectual life of woman is one of the social necessities and ideals, rather than of inborn psychologic characteristics of sex."

The social customs of the centuries have walled women in, and also set up in the minds of men an attitude which renders her almost an alien to man's interests and pursuits, as if she were spatially removed from them. It is a well-understood fact that neither individuals nor classes which have upon every hand been thwarted and restrained, either by unjust and oppressive laws or by the tyranny of custom, prejudice, or physical force, have ever made any considerable progress in the actual acquirement of knowledge or the arts of life.

The Inventive Genius.—The greater intellectual vigor and power of invention in man is probably due to natural

selection combined with the inherited effect of habit; for the most able men will have succeeded best in defending and providing for themselves, their wives, and children.

In primitive times, while women drudged, men invented tools and implements for hunting and war, contrived boats, and studied navigation, winds, weather, tides, and waves. Observation of the heavens naturally followed; hence a knowledge of mechanics, physics, and the rudiments of mathematics and astronomy. Logic and philosophy naturally followed.

All this came naturally to man as the result of the division of labor, while woman, hampered by confinement and drudgery, suffering from overstrain and inadequate food, had no such opportunities. Their daughters, by the laws of heredity and environment, are therefore, as a rule, necessarily inferior to men in invention, mathematics, and logic.

The Variational Tendency in Men.—Burdach, that great biologist, took up this question in his physiology. His general conclusion was that the nature of man and the nature of woman were both excellent, but that there were wider variations in men, more genius and more idiocy, more virtue and more vice. Darwin reached the same conclusion.

If we turn to those congenital variations, which are very closely allied to mental characters, we still find, even to a more marked degree, that men have a greater tendency to abnormality than women; for example, left-handedness, color-blindness, albinism, deaf-mutism, idiocy, imbecility, criminality, and insanity.

The arithmetic prodigy leads up to the most interesting and most important of all psychic abnormality, that which we usually call genius. We must regard genius

as a congenital abnormality, and in nearly every department it is undeniable that it is more frequent in men than it is in women. Genius is more common among men by the same general tendency by which idiocy is more common among men. The two facts are but the two aspects of the larger zoölogic fact, the greater variability of the male. From an organic standpoint women represent the more stable and conservative element in evolution.

We have, therefore, to recognize that in men, as in males generally, there is an organic variational tendency to diverge from the average, and in women generally an organic tendency, notwithstanding all their facility for minor oscillations, to stability and conservatism, involving a diminished individualism and variability. The more marked variational tendency of men is closely allied with their more marked pathologic characters; for, as Virchow insisted, every deviation from the normal type must have its foundation in a pathologic accident.

A large part of the joy that men and women take in each other is rooted in this sexual difference in variability. The progressive and divergent energies of men call out and satisfy the twin instincts in women to accept and follow a leader, and to expend tenderness on a reckless and erring child; instincts often intermingled in a delicious confusion. In women men find beings who have not wandered so far as they from the typical life of earth's creatures; women are for men the human embodiment of the restful responsiveness of nature.

In the domain of sentiment the two sexes are radically different; both are passionate, but in different ways. The passions of man are coarse and less durable, and are only elevated when associated with the more original, and complex intellectual aims. In woman sentiment is more delicate and more finely shaded esthetically

and morally; it is also, at least on the average, more durable.

In the life of sentiment the two sexes complement each other admirably. While the man raises the height of the ideal to be attained, woman has the necessary tact to soften and refine the tones and to adapt their shades to each special situation by the aid of her natural intuition; where man risks spoiling everything by the violence of his passions and his efforts. This reciprocal influence should conduce to the best and highest harmony of sentiments in a happy sexual combination.

The Will Power.—It is generally conceded that, on the average, woman is superior to man in regard to will power. It is in this psychologic domain, more than any other, that she will always triumph. This fact is generally misunderstood, because men have so far held the scepter of unlimited omnipotence. By the abuse of brute force, aided by the superiority of inventive genius, humanity has hitherto been lead by the strong masculine wills, and because the strongest feminine wills have been dominated by the right of the stronger. The unprejudiced observer is soon obliged to recognize that the directive will of the family is only in general represented externally by the master. Man parades his authority much oftener than he puts it in practice; he lacks the perseverance, tenacity, and elasticity, which constitute the true power of the will and are peculiar to women.

Man is impulsive and violent as regards his will power, but often inconstant and irresolute; yielding as soon as he has to strive persistently for a certain object. From these facts it naturally results that it is the man in the family who provides the ideas and impulses, but the woman who with the finesse of her tact and perseverance

instinctively makes the distinction between the useful and the harmful, utilizing the former and constantly combating the latter, not because she is fundamentally superior, but because she is more capable of dominating herself, which proves the superiority of her will power.

Woman's Adventitious Character.—When woman was reduced to a condition of dependence on man's activities, wooing became a less formidable matter; man purchased her from her male kindred and took her to his own group, where she was easier to control.

On the moral side particularly, man's disposition to bend the situation to his pleasure placed the woman in a hard position and resulted in the distortion of her nature; or rather in making dominant those elemental traits of character which the ethics of civilized nations regard as undermining the highest qualities of the race, as well as of the very foundations on which the welfare of humanity rests.

During untold ages of subjection women have been obliged to compass their ends by more or less indirect means. While they have found it advisable to make a show of obedience before their husbands and masters, they have always found ways to accomplish their ends by management and craft; hence tact and finesse are preëminently feminine traits. Cunning and deception are the natural resort of the weak and oppressed; only the strong can afford to be frank.

In sexual selection, according to Lombroso and Ferrero, a woman instinctively hides her defects, her disorders, and if necessary her age; anything which may injure her in the eyes of men, including even her best qualities, if she thinks that these may call out ridicule or dislike. A woman usually finds it easy to mold herself on the ideal of the man she is with at the moment, pro-

vided she admires him. He would usually be repelled if she were to assert her own individuality. The artifices of the toilet have the same source, but they are in addition intended to impress other women or obtain a triumph over them. The desire to be interesting leads to simulated weakness and a supposed need of protection.

Lombroso and Ferrero sum up the situation in saying: "The method of obtaining results by ruses among all of the weaker lower animals is so habitual among women that deception has become almost physiologic among them."

Man has always insisted that woman should be better than he. Regarding her in the light which he always has done, of being either a minor or child, her mental immoralities have rather amused him. At any rate he has never greatly objected to them. So there naturally sprang up a double standard of morals for the two sexes, which may be termed a morality of person and bodily habits for woman, as contrasted with the commercial and public morality of man, such as exactness in statements or truthfulness, sterling business integrity whereby all misrepresentation as to the real facts in the case are frowned down upon, and straightforwardness in all business transactions are demanded.

It must be admitted that according to these regulations woman has, in the mass, played the game fairly well. The man has demanded purity, reserve, constancy, and devotion; and woman has acted in the manner which made her most pleasing to man. She was, perforce, obliged to, because matrimony was the sole vocation allowed her. She has even gone further, and naïvely insisted that her sister should play well within the rules of the game, she herself becoming the strictest censor of that morality which has become tradition-

ally associated with woman. Knowing the obloquy which the world attaches to a bad woman, she is the first to throw a stone at any woman who bids for the favor of man by overstepping the modesty of nature.

Women, in the mass, have always been found in the extreme wing of the reactionaries. Having known nothing other than economic dependence on man, and perhaps having become enamored with the life of luxurious ease and luxury which wealth affords, she has proved the greatest obstacle to the intellectual and economic advancement of woman. Playing on that quality of woman's sensitiveness to public opinion, she has simply established a law of social ostracism for the woman who has gone in for the higher intellectual education; as for the professional woman, she is too far outside of society's pale for consideration. This is true even to-day, to such an extent that young women of the wealthier classes, who have graduated at any of our leading colleges, simply do not acknowledge the fact, because to do so would immediately insure their social ostracism.

Modesty in regard to personal habits became so ingrained and habitual to all women, and to do anything freely is so foreign to her, that any initiative or suggestion of change in her manner of life came to be regarded as quite immodest. Then, too, the centuries of time when woman's sole duty was to charm man and to bear him children resulted in a frivolity in their lives that has made a lasting imprint on their daughters.

Schopenhauer, the German philosopher and pessimist, asserts that: "Women exist as a whole mainly for the propagation of the species and are not destined for anything else;" and again: "The fundamental fault of the female character is that it has no sense of justice. This is mainly due to the fact that women are defective in the

powers of reasoning and deliberation; but it is also due to the fact traceable to the position that nature has assigned them in the sphere of sex."

"They are dependent not on their strength but on their craft; and hence their instinctive capacity for cunning; and their probable tendency to say what is not true. Nature has equipped them with defense, with the arts of dissimulation; and the power which nature has conferred on man in the shape of physical strength and reason has been bestowed on woman in this form. Hence dissimulation is innate in women; it is as natural for them to make use of it on every occasion as it is for animals to employ their means of defense when attacked. They have a feeling that in doing this they are quite within their rights. Therefore a woman who is perfectly truthful and not given to dissimulation is perhaps an impossibility. But this fundamental defect which I have stated with all that it gives rise to, falsity, faithlessness, treachery, and ingratitude. . . . Perjury in a court of justice is more often committed by a woman than by a man. It may indeed be questioned whether a woman ought to be put under oath."

For each of these real defects, which must be admitted by the friends of woman, there is an historic cause. If women are given to small deceits, it is because men have been addicted to small tyrannies. If women are shortsighted it is because in the nature of things woman's province was small and restricted. If woman has not a judicial mind, it was because, until within the last fifty years, woman's mind was largely undeveloped, so that her powers of reasoning and abstruse thought remained in an infantile condition through life.

Wherever tyranny exists it is met by deceit. In the region of physical force the weak must win by love and

intrigue. This condition is not confined to women. Those men who were the favorites of princes used the same method of conquest. Moreover the power of a strong will over a weak one has always been a factor in history, even though the strong will be in a weak body.

Schopenhauer was a German misogynist; and since he wrote, the higher education of women and their entrance into the professional and vocational world have in a marvelously short time entirely broadened and made apparent their dormant, mental traits. They were among the first to acknowledge and deplore this debasing mental attitude of women, as they were among the first to insist on a single standard of morals for the two sexes; that the woman should be trained to the same mental and business integrity which characterizes the highest intellects in the business world; and that man should learn to dominate and control his passions because of equity, for the sake of the family and of the race.

The hypothesis that the greater amount of difference between men and women is the result of their heredity and environment, and not of fundamental maleness and femaleness, fully explains the shortcomings of the two sexes and woman's physical and intellectual inferiority.

CHAPTER VII

SEX EDUCATION AS A SOLVENT FOR THE DOUBLE STANDARD OF MORALS AND CELIBACY

Chastity in Woman; Man's Code of Honor; the Psychology of Sexual Life; Ethics and Sex Education; the Problem of Self-control for Young Men; the Double Standard of Morals; Natural Feminine Eroticism, or the Sexual Appetite in Woman; Continence in Man and the Mode of Individual Life; Prenuptial Chastity in Man both an Ethical and Race Obligation; Woman's Attitude Toward the Double Standard of Morals; the Atypical Type of Woman and Free Love; the Arguments against the Theory of Free Love; the Evolution of Morality.

Obey thy conscience! But first be sure it is not the conscience of an ass.—RUSKIN.

There is no more potent cause of misery than the failure of men to live in accordance with physiologic laws. If this cause of misery is to be removed, there is need first of a knowledge of what is physiologic.—FREDERIC S. LEE, M. D.

Chastity in Woman.—With the advance of civilization, as woman became increasingly more dependent on man economically, man in return demanded that his woman or women should hide their charms from the gaze of other men; and the increased valuation laid upon prenuptial chastity on the part of woman went up by leaps and bounds.

The insistence of men at the present day that the hymen should always be intact, and that except in the

case of very marked pelvic trouble, no vaginal examination should be made even by women physicians, would seem to be an atavistic survival of the ancient customs of insuring the virginity of girls and the fidelity of wives by infibulation and the girdles of chastity.

Man's Code of Honor.—The first physical surrender on the girl's part affects her whole future life. At the present day the woman who has lost her virginity outside the legal bonds of marriage is regarded in fact much as was the prostitute of the Middle Ages in law. That is to say, in the Middle Ages the prostitute was under every man's hand, for the protection of the law was only extended to respectable women. The crime of rape upon an unmarried woman was only possible if she were a virgin.

The psychology of the male is of such a character that the average man does not merely feel that the prostitute, willing or unwilling, should be at every man's disposal, but further than this, he thinks that the girl who has once fallen becomes thereby the legitimate prey of every man who desires her. Thus does one single fall cause a woman to be considered as a beast of the chase, good for the exercise of the hunting instincts of every man that comes along. This girl, even though she subsequently wishes to live continently, will for the rest of her life find herself exposed to free-love adventures, owing to the first step she has taken in the field of practical sexuality.

And as Michelis says, there is no power in the world strong enough to break the iron chains whose rings are based on such a syllogism. So every woman who has had sexual experience before marriage, is forever prejudiced, quite indifferently whether her action was the outcome of lightmindedness, sudden passion, sincere affection, or any other possible motive.

The attitude of the law toward preconjugal experience resembles that of public opinion. The legal demand is that before marriage the woman's conduct should be morally irreproachable. In the Supreme Court of the German Empire it has been recently laid down that the husband has the right to contest the validity of his marriage, if he learns that before marriage was contracted his wife had had sexual relations with another man and had concealed that fact from his knowledge. This decision is in conformity with the general opinion that a man in contracting marriage is considerably influenced by the belief that the woman whom he marries is a virgin.

The Psychology of Sexual Life.—When with the sexual functions are combined the ideas of morality, of the sublime and the beautiful, a lofty standard has been attained in which man stands far above nature and draws from inexhaustible sources the materials for nobler enjoyments, for serious work and the realization of ideal aims.

Sexual life is no doubt the one mighty factor in the individual and social relations of man which discloses his power of activity, of acquiring property, establishing a home, awakening altruistic sentiments toward a person of the opposite sex, and toward his own issue as well as toward the whole human race. Sexual feeling is really the root of all ethics and no doubt of asceticism and religion.

The sublimest virtues, even the sacrifice of self, may spring from the sexual life; on the other hand, on account of its sensual power, it may easily degenerate into the lowest passion and basest vice. Unbridled passion is a volcano which burns and lays waste all around it; it is an abyss which devours all-honor, substance and health.

When woman ceased for a time to be a chattel, she was wooed by man; traces of ethical sentiments began to

pervade the rude sensual appetites, idealization began, the community of women ceased. The sexes began to be drawn together by mental and physical merits; in this stage woman became conscious that her charms belonged only to the man of her choice, so she began to veil them from others. This formed the foundation of modesty, chastity, and sexual fidelity, so long as love endured.

Where the spirit of colonization developed, man felt the necessity for a companion in life, a housewife, and a settled home. The Egyptians, the Israelites, and the Greeks reached this level at an early period. Its chief characteristics are a high appreciation of virginity, chastity, modesty, and sexual fidelity on the *part of the woman*, in strong contrast to the habits of other peoples, where the host placed the personal charms of his wife at the disposal of his guest.

Christianity raised the union of the sexes to a sublime position by making the woman socially the equal of the man and elevating the bond of love to a moral and religious institution.

Even though nature should claim merely the law of propagation, the family and the State cannot subsist without the guarantee that the offspring thrive physically, morally, and intellectually. From the moment when woman was recognized as the peer of man, when monogamy became law, the Christian nations obtained a mental and material superiority over the polygamic races.

Love trends forever in a romantic, idealizing direction; it wraps the beloved being in a halo of perfection. In its incipient stages it is of a Platonic nature and turns rather to poetry and history. With the approach of puberty it runs the risk of turning the idealizing powers

upon persons of the opposite sex, even though mentally, physically and socially they are of inferior station. To this may be traced many cases of mesalliance, abduction, elopements, and errors of early youth; those sad tragedies of passionate love which are in conflict with the principles of mortality and law. Sensual love is never true and lasting; first love is, as a rule, but a passing infatuation, a fleeting passion.

True love, on the other hand, is rooted on the recognition of the mental and moral qualities of the beloved person, and is equally ready to share pleasures and sorrows and even to make sacrifices. True love shrinks neither from dangers or obstacles; deeds of daring and heroism lie in its wake; but unless the moral foundation is solid, it will lead also to crime. Ethical surroundings are essential to elevate love to its true and pure form, but the sexual appetite will always remain its chief basis.

Man has, beyond doubt, the stronger sexual appetite of the two. From the period of pubescence he is instinctively drawn toward woman; his love is sensual and he is strongly biased by physical attractiveness; a mighty impulse of nature makes him aggressive and impetuous in his courtship. Women have yet to learn that this law of nature does not wholly fill the psychic beings of men; and this forms one of the hidden shoals on which the matrimonial bark often founders in the early days which succeed the delirium of the honeymoon. Having secured the prize, man's love is temporarily eclipsed by other vital business and social interests.

Woman far surpasses man in the natural psychology of love, partly because evolution and training have made love throughout eons of time her sole vocation in life, and partly because she is animated by more refined feelings. While woman's sensual desires are awakened much

later in life than man's and are as a rule not so strong, psychologists have erred greatly in considering them for the most part a negligible quantity. All gynecologists know from their personal observation that this is not the case. Further, sexual consciousness is stronger in woman than in man; because of her economic dependence through all the ages her need of love was greater. She became abnormally self-centered, so that love came to be to her continual and not periodic. Woman loves with her whole soul. To woman love has become life; to man it is the joy of life. Misfortune in love bruises the heart of man, but it ruins the life of woman and wrecks her happiness. Woman's mind certainly inclines more to monogamy than man's and at the present day she is influenced in her choice more by mental than by physical qualities.

The ignorance of this intrinsic difference of the psychology of love in man and woman is a very large factor in the wreckage of marriages and homes, which eventually leads to the divorce courts. In her early married life woman does not understand why she cannot always be first in her husband's thoughts, not grasping the fact that if she were, his business would soon go to ruin. So she makes his life miserable by insistent demands on his time and thoughts; when he tries to explain the state of affairs, she reproaches him with no longer loving her. Jealousy of his business interests soon awakes, and from this it is but a short step to fill her imagination with the picture of a female rival in her husband's affections. Obviously any such intolerable situation makes the first tremendous rift in the matrimonial peace and harmony.

Man primarily loves woman as his wife and then as the mother of his children. After the birth of the first child he strongly resents the fact that he has now been

relegated to the second place in his wife's affection, for with a great number of women the first place in her heart belongs to the father of her child and the second to him as her husband.

This is one of the objections to the young wife's becoming a mother, before she has really become thoroughly adapted to her rôle as wife, and before the mutual affections of the young couple have become sufficiently secure to stand the slight strain which pregnancy and motherhood place on the husband. To this cause might be traced the first tendency of the young husband to infidelity; when he is pushed aside, as it were, he naturally feels abused, and there is a strong tendency to turn to some other woman for sympathy. Many a woman who prides herself on her chastity has chiefly herself to blame for her husband's infidelity. Here again it is the crass ignorance which has been allowed to envelop the entire subject of love and marriage that has caused so much human suffering and misery.

Unfaithfulness on the part of the wife has always met with much more severe punishment at the hands of the law than that of the husband. He is exculpated because of the tradition of his naturally stronger instincts and of his social exposure in a larger world, while it is contended that the wife is not exposed to the same kind of temptations, and further that she is surrounded by many protective influences.

While all through the ages woman has been forced by man to observe a chastity of body, man has allowed his passions to run riot; hence, as man grows weak morally, he is the more easily enslaved by designing women, until finally he is ruined by sensuality. This accounts for the fact that in periods of decline of great nations, luxury and sensuousness were the prominent factors,

courtesans and their dependents ruling the state and finally encompassing its ruin.

Ethics and Sex Education.—The need of enlightenment on sexual matters is a product of existing conditions. Civilization and the social environment are developing along a plane which subjects youth to many temptations which practically did not exist in the past. There is a broader and looser code of ethics. Business monopolizes the entire time of the father and social life, with its misdirected ambition, the time of the mother. So the son and daughter have a wider latitude and freer rein than formerly, and the door is left wide open for promiscuous intimacies. At the most critical period of their lives young girls are allowed to go freely about unchaperoned; to go out riding in the public parks with their grooms; to go to the theater and to attend public dances with some young male escort; or to make up travel parties under a very nominal chaperonage of perhaps some woman of loose morals.

The character of many of the plays allowed on the stage, the moving picture shows and vaudeville performances, all tend to lower the public standard of morality and stimulate voluptuous desires. So it has come about that the path of the degenerate has been made easy and profitable. In this way the promiscuous libertine has been evolved, the most insidious and dangerous product of the present-day civilization, the most pernicious factor in spreading immoral impulses and that vast wave of social diseases which is as serious a menace to the State and the race as any "black plague" that ever devastated Europe in the Middle Ages.

Twenty years ago personal sex hygiene was recognized as the chief reason for sex education; social diseases began to attract attention some ten years

ago. Commercialized prostitution has been especially prominent in the discussion of the past five years, and recently there has been stressed the necessity for sex education with reference to eugenics.

The problem of physical morality or clean living is primarily a problem of self-control, of the mastery of the will over the passions. This mastery can only be founded by perfect intelligence of the laws of life and sex, and their relation to the laws of bodily health. In order that young men should live according to physiologic laws it is necessary that they should know what these laws are, as well as the consequences of their violation. Since human beings are being left to control the most powerful appetite, it is evident that a policy based on silence, ignorance, and mystery must fail.

It is very clear that young people cannot always find within themselves the necessary strength and knowledge to guide properly their sex behavior amid the complex temptations that society has thrown around them. Not all young people have normal home life; it is for this reason that protecting standards and conventions are valuable. The institution of monogamy should be safeguarded by legal sanction and our children should be taught to regard it as sacred. In the same way the standards which respect and demand purity in the home are of vital importance and should be equally binding on both sexes. The salvation of society has been the increasingly high standards set up for women. If society would rigidly apply the same standard to men it would greatly strengthen the morality of their sex behavior. Public opinion and public convention are more potent by far than the laws of the state, for laws are only executed when they are upheld by public opinion. Our objective in education is to obtain the

internal standards of right thinking and acting which will inhibit wrongdoing.

The child must know the meaning of sex; he must know what are the best standards of the race about the use of sex; he must be willing to choose to use it in accordance with these standards and have the internal power of character which will enable him to carry out his choice in his conduct. He cannot reasonably be expected to attain this disposition without expert help.

Education in sexual matters means the education of nature by the spirit; and this is not possible without a clear and definite idea of the ethics of sex. Such ethics is not possible upon the basis of modern materialism; it can come from religion alone. The teaching of the Christian ethics is indispensable.

Comte describes the disintegration of all definite and authoritative truths as "the disease of the Western world." A pleasure-seeking individual is becoming the commanding principle of practical conduct, and in the sphere of sex is replacing all social and religious considerations. The old idea of loyalty, with its immense educational power one of the pillars of all the higher civilizations, has become a thing of mockery and sexual purity has come to be looked upon as unhealthy.

Reason and objective thinking, are capacities dwelling in man apart from the rest of his organism; a direct reflection, as it were, in the midst of the subject of objective truths and universal claims. Schopenhauer says: "Just as a lead weight attached to a body always brings it back to the position required by the center of gravity, so in the ordinary man the intellect is constantly drawn back to the center of gravity of self-interest. In another place: "For real and genuine achievements in philosophy, there must be an abnormal tendency, which con-

trary to the rule of human nature, sets an absolute objective effort in place of the subjective effort after one's individual good; and is therefore very positively termed "eccentric."

"When fixing the compass in a warship, care has to be taken above all to isolate the needle from all magnetic currents which might arise from the metal hull of the ship and deflect the needle; but no one asks whether the compass in man, the individual reason, which is to show our way, is not deflected a thousand times by disturbing forces arising from our physical natures; and whether it is not necessary constantly to correct the individual compass by fixing our gaze on the Personality who stands above all conflicting forces."

Reason and conscience are certainly great gifts, but they are in need of training, purification, liberation, and constant intercourse with a higher wisdom, before the direction of our life can be entrusted to them. Faith in God, emancipation through Christ, and guidance by a great tradition show our reason the way to the highest knowledge, saving from the paths and precipices of subjective folly and mere individual speculation. Only by faith in a higher wisdom does man escape the confines of his own experience and knowledge. Error is the inevitable fate of man when left to himself. Without faith in the spiritual world the human spirit will in the end lose faith in itself. This belief, lit at the fire of Christ himself, influences the human spirit and fills it with ever-increasing strength and confidence.

The Problem of Self-control for Young Men.—Bigelow gives it as his opinion that: "The problem of control of the insistent passions of normal young men has been unscientifically minimized by numerous writers and lecturers. As a matter of fact the sexual instincts

of young men are characteristically active, aggressive, spontaneous, and automatic; while those of young women are as a rule passive and subject to awakening by external stimuli; especially in connection with affection. Maintaining perfect self-control in his premarital years is for the average healthy young man a problem compared with which all others, including alcoholic temptations, are of little significance. We must not forget that every normal young man passes in early puberty through peculiar physiologic changes, that arouse his deepest instincts."

It is believed by biologists that the sex organs, ovaries and testes, manufacture certain specific substances which, being poured into the blood current, pass to the muscles, brain, skin, and other organs. These substances by their presence stimulate the particular growth that we have noticed as belonging to the various sex organs. In other words the natural healthy condition of the internal sex organs, through their direct action on the blood, most profoundly modifies the body, mind, and nature of the organism to which they belong. The conclusion of the whole matter is this; in order to develop a strong, normal, manly body and mind, the first essential is the full, sound development of the internal organs, the testes. Conversely, anything which interferes with this will, to that extent, prevent the boy from developing into complete manhood. The same general laws hold good for the normal development of women.

The biologic place of sex is a wonderful, vital, stimulating, and holy endowment of human life, to be treasured and invested as we treasure bodily health, mental ability, and attractive disposition. Only when we grasp the whole problem, with the constructive as well as the disastrous possibilities, can we use it as a part of real human

education. The word sex must come to mean fine and high things, rather than bestial and low.

In school the instruction in the physiology and hygiene of the reproductive organs should not be isolated, so as to concentrate the attention on it, but must be made, as it is, a natural part of the systematic teaching of physiology and personal hygiene. For adolescents the teachers should be of the same sex.

An appeal based on the physical development as a motive for purity should have a compelling force with boys, among whom admiration for a fine physique, strength and vigor is almost universal. This plea is more effective when based upon a knowledge of the intimate relations existing between sex functions and the physical and mental development of the individual. In the normal growth of the body it would appear that nature does not occupy herself with provision for the reproduction of the species until maturity is attained. All growth is a function of nutrition, and during the stage of bodily development the nutritive energies of the system are concentrated upon the upbuilding of these organs which are concerned in the conservation of the individual. Only after physical maturity is attained does the organism produce a surplus of nutrition to be used in reproduction. If a demand is prematurely made on this nutritive energy to supply a waste from the abnormal secretion and loss of seminal fluid, the general nutrition is impaired and the normal development of the body is interfered with. That chastity conduces to health and strength of body and mind is a physiologic law, and every young man should set before him the ideal of pure and vigorous manhood. Clean thinking is absolutely essential to clean living.

Before entering upon the pubescent period every boy

should be made acquainted with the fact that his sex organs are entrusted with the wonderful power of transmitting life when he becomes a man; and in order not to impair this power these organs should not be injured in any way. The first and most essential condition is to create a proper attitude toward the appetites and passions; to have a right conception of the reproductive functions as one of the most important of the body. Hence they must be controlled by will and conscience, and exercised only in the legitimate way imposed by marriage. Every young man should build up high ideals in regard to the sex relations, based upon respect for his own body, for women in general, and especially for the young woman who will one day be his wife and the children he will procreate.

At this vital period of life the mind should be filled with high purposes and high ideals; ambitions which will absorb the thoughts, strengthen the purpose, and give the beginning at least of a personal vision as to how these ambitions are to be carried out and a conception of the personal qualities which will bring full success. An earnest endeavor should be made to stimulate interest in life, in its work and opportunities; to make very clear the effect of improper familiarities or sex relations; to utilize the love motive which is large in most youths at this time in order to inhibit improper sex conduct; to form and to appeal to religious ideals and motives for the same purpose.

It appears from the experience of many men that strenuous work and play are the only effective weapons for driving sexual images into the background of the mind. Athletics are to be recommended as possessing a positive prophylactic value against sexual propensities. Physical exercise carried to the point of fatigue serves as an outlet

for superabundant energy, which might otherwise be directed toward the sexual sphere. Then again athletics tend to develop a manly spirit and ambition to excel, while the rules of the game impose subordination and self-control. The mind, as well as the body, is engaged in and participates in the benefit.

There are many problems of sex relations to society that young people should be led to consider in the late teens and early twenties. Bigelow considers that between sixteen and twenty-two, young women should be informed in regard to prostitution. A girl's protection must come from without; a boy's from within. Every boy who reaches the age of adolescence knows his nature; it asserts itself and his sex instincts are dominant and aggressive. He is a man, the father of the race, and the laws of procreation are to him an open book. A girl remains innocent until she is awakened; it is the touch, the kiss, the sense stirred, that awake in her the glory of her womanhood or her shame.

The very frailty of such a girl, her dependence on her intuitions, her emotions, and the triumph of feeling over intellect, place her in greater danger than her brothers, even were their responsibilities to society the same. Add to this the fact that with yielding to temptation she has also the burden of childbearing; how much more necessary that she should have adequate knowledge of what she is to meet in the world, or what she must combat, lest her emotions forestall her intelligence as physical development precedes mental appreciation.

Ignorance is the fundamental cause of much prostitution on the part of women. Competent social workers believe that knowledge might often counteract the forces which lead women from virtue down to prostitution. Most men do not realize that prostitution offers great

danger to their own health and still greater danger to that of their wives and children. Regarding the social evil from any point of view, educators consider that dense ignorance is largely responsible for this, the darkest blot on our boasted civilization, the social-sexual evil.

Girls in late adolescence should learn from some reliable source the most general facts regarding the male structure and function. First of all many will need these facts for self-protection, to forestall the more than possible temptation from the young man, because of his supposed sex needs. The majority of girls will at some time have the care of children, so an essential part of their later sex education should be scientific facts concerning love, marriage, and mother-craft.

The Double Standard of Morals.—It has long seemed to many that the faults of men are in some degree traceable to the fact that women as a sex have not been able to demand the same high standard of morality for manhood, that man, the law-giver, has so stringently imposed on woman. Social ostracism, on the part of women who are social leaders, against the immorality of man, would be a long step forward toward the "single standard of morals" for the two sexes. The trouble thus far has been the lack of education of women in general regard to all sexual matters. At the present day, ignorance on any of the fundamental principles which underlie the progress of the race is nothing short of criminal.

Education on the subject of social hygiene is a prerequisite for the duties of motherhood, for this is definitely necessary for mothers in the training of their sons and daughters. The boy must be taught the value of sex health, the meaning of the changes of temperament, and of sex longings and appetites. He also must be given definite warnings with some reasons, but not overstressed

against masturbation, and the physiologic connection of all this with fine manhood. The mother can best reach her son in lessons of chivalry toward women as one reason for self-restraint, and in the ideals of purity and high standards in relation to women; to guard against the temptations that will come, and so to spiritualize and sublimate the tremendous sex impulses, transforming them into sound ideals and habits of self-controlled sex conduct.

Fair play or the square deal, to appeal to the young man, should be based on the fact, that most young men demand purity of the girls of their own set, their sisters, friends, and sweethearts; yet they help drag other women down. An honorable man should be willing to play fairly and give purity for purity. Still further, young men should be impressed with the idea that their sex functions should be held sacred to affection; in other words that sexual union is only moral as a love interchange, and the minds of young women should be molded to demand high standards and ideal manhood.

Man has tried to justify the code of the "double standard of morals," which he established in primitive times, on his supposed physiologic needs and on the other fact, taken for granted, that woman as a rule had neither such needs nor such sexual desires. Science has now demonstrated that up to the age of twenty-five years at least, total abstinence from sexual indulgence on the part of the male is essential for his own physical and mental development, and that absolute sexual abstinence for life is not injurious. We will now turn our attention to the other side of the problem, of woman as a mere passive factor in the sexual life.

Natural Feminine Eroticism, or Sexual Appetite, in Woman.—Man has through eons of time imbued woman

with the idea that she was better than he because she was less passionate, and woman has on the whole been game. Woman has, on the one hand, inherited the feeling of the necessity for chastity, and convention has still further impressed this fact on her. Very rarely, even as patients, will women frankly confess to their physician, though a woman, that they are either possessed or obsessed by any over-whelming sexual desire; and very often indeed they are entirely unconscious of it, though the results are very patent to us, for the simple reason that any such feeling on the part of woman has been considered abnormal. Then, too, there is a sense of modesty and shame in revealing her innermost feelings on this particular subject even to a member of her own sex.

Consider the facts in the case: When man became sufficiently well-to-do to allow his wife and daughters to pass their time in idleness, the one vocation permitted young girls was to get married, and their mothers rarely failed to keep this object in view. Practically no exercise was taken and their lives were filled with novel reading, some useless fancy work, and making themselves charming, so far as might be, to seduce the unwary male. It was a life of introspection, wholly centered on the sexual system, for it is a well-known fact that reading a certain kind of novels, very many plays that are staged in the theater, music, dancing, and being constantly in company with persons of the other sex when not engaged in strenuous work, arouse the voluptuous sensations.

In the sexual act the rôle of woman differs not only in the fact that she is passive, but also from the absence of the seminal ejaculations. In spite of this the analogies are considerable. The erection of the clitoris and its voluptuous sensations, the secretion from the glands of

Bartholin, which resembles the ejaculations in the male and is often so profuse as to be pathologic; the venereal orgasm itself, which often exceeds in intensity that of the male, are not only phenomena which establish harmony in the sexual relations, but the consequent severe congestion of the female sexual organs, without the normal outlet of relief, frequently causes intense disturbance of the nervous system.[1] Although the organic phenomena of the accumulating semen in the seminal vesicles are absent in woman, there is produced in the nerve centers, after prolonged abstinence, an accumulation of sexual desire corresponding to that of man.

Further, in the case of the poor, various kinds of fatiguing but mostly sedentary occupations occasion a determination of blood to the pelvic organs, while sexual impulses are stimulated by the constant pressure of sitting. One of the most injurious of these is the use of sewing machines. Its effect on the nervous and sexual system is at the same time so exciting and wearing that in most cases when continued for years at from ten to twelve hours a day it ruins the best constitution. Undue sexual irritation is also caused by working for a long time under high temperature, for instance in factories for refining sugar, for bleaching, and calico printing; and by night work in overcrowded gas-lighted rooms in which both sexes work together.

Extremes of sexual appetite in women are more common and more considerable than in men. In woman this appetite, recognized as such, is less often developed spontaneously, being generally developed later. The statement made by many psychologists that voluptuous

[1] Biologists also confirm this fact by their observations on domesticated animals, where they too find diseases of the pelvic organs from an unnatural mode of life.

sensations in woman are as a rule only awakened by coitus, is a very grave mistake, of which any observing gynecologist is well aware.

The unsatisfied desires of the normal woman are less inclined toward coitus than toward the assemblage of the consequences of this act, which are so important for her whole life. When the sight of a certain man awakens in the young girl sympathetic desire and transports, she desires to procreate children by this man, to give herself to him, to receive his caresses, to be loved by him only; and this is combined with the desire to give herself passionately, to play the part of the one who devotes herself, who is conquered, mastered, and subjugated; to gratify a general sexual need distributed over the whole body, and in no way concentrated in the sexual organs or in the desire for coitus. The instinct of procreation is much stronger in woman than it is in man.

Neither does the sexual appetite of man consist wholly in the desire for coitus; in many cases it is combined more or less strongly and more or less consciously with the desire to procreate children. In spite of the fact that man represents the active elements in sexual union, that in him the appetite for coitus is stronger, and this appetite strongly affects the masculine mind, Forel considers that the sexual life plays a less important part in the life of man than it does in that of woman.

As a rule, women are much more the slaves of their instincts and habits than men. In all primitive peoples boldness and hardiness in men were the qualities which made for success. This is why, even at the present day, the boldest and most audacious Don Juans excite more strongly the sexual desires of women and succeed in turning the heads of most young girls, in spite of their worst faults in other respects. Nothing is more repugnant to

the feminine instinct than timidity and awkwardness in man.

In our time, however, it is more the intellectual superiority of man which excites the desire of woman. Normal woman is much more particular than man in giving her love; and from the sexual point of view she is much more constant than man. It is rarely possible for her to experience sexual desire for several men at the same time; her senses are nearly always attracted to one lover only, while a man may be a loving and devoted husband and at the same time satisfy his animal appetites with prostitutes. In woman such sexual dualism is much more rare and is always unnatural, the normal woman being much less capable than man of separating love from sexual appetite.

Continence in Man and the Mode of Individual Life.—Forel says: "Abstinence or sexual continence in man is by no means impractical for the normal young man of the average constitution; assiduous physical and intellectual work, abstaining from all artificial excitations, especially from all narcotics and from alcohol in particular; for these substances paralyze the judgment and the will. Continence is usually favored by nocturnal emissions and the health does not suffer from them in any way. The sexual appetite and power are strongest in man from twenty to forty years, but especially between twenty-five and thirty-five; after forty the sexual power gradually diminishes, and disappears after seventy.

"As long as a young man does not wish to marry, he should remove as far as possible all sexual thoughts from his mind. A young girl should do the same. By serious and persevering work, and by avoiding all means of excitation, the sexual appetite can usually be kept within the bounds of moderation. Alcoholic drinks and the

exploitation of the sexual appetite constitute what may be called one of the largest fields of *social brigandage.*

"The artificial and varied repetitions of sexual excitation by means of objects which provoke it, increase the sexual appetite. This cannot be doubted, for the law of exercise is a general truth in the physiology of the nervous system. This law which is also called the law of training, shows that every kind of nervous activity increases with training. It is not surprising to find this law, therefore, in the phenomena of the sexual appetite, which diminishes with abstinence and increases with repeated excitations and satisfaction."

There is no doubt that the mode of life of the individual exerts a great influence on his sexual life. High living combined with little bodily exercise increases sexual appetite, while insufficient food combined with severe muscular work diminishes it. Intellectual work acts in a variable manner. As a rule, sedentary life increases sexual appetite, and a life full of occupations diminishes it. In addition to the use of alcohol the sexual appetite is abnormally stimulated by erotic pictures, obscene novels, dramas, etc.

The sexuality of the rich man degenerates by luxury and by the fact that he is already satiated in his youth; that of the poor man is no less degenerate, owing to bad food, unhealthy dwellings, neglected education, and vicious example. The exploiter and the exploited meet in dens of vice.

There are many physical rules and precautions which are advocated as tending to inhibit or diminish sexual activity. The avoidance of heat and the cultivation of cold is one of them. Hot climates, a close atmosphere, heavy bed-clothing, hot baths, all tend powerfully to excite the sexual system, for that system is a peripheral

sensory organ, and whatever stimulates the skin generally, stimulates the sexual system. Cold, which contracts the skin, also deadens the sexual feelings, a factor which ascetics of old knew and practised.

The garments and the posture of the body are not without influence. Constriction or pressure in the sexual region, even tight corsets, as well as internal pressure, as by a distended bladder, are sources of sexual irritation. Sleeping on the back, which congests the spinal centers, acts in the same way, as has long been known to those who attend to sexual hygiene. It is stated that in the Franciscan Order it is prohibited to sleep on the back. Food and drink are powerful sexual stimulants. This is true of the simplest and most wholesome nourishment, but it is particularly true of a heavy meat diet.

Mental exercise, like physical, has been advocated as a method of stilling sexual excitement; but it seems to be rather equivocal in its action. If it is profoundly interesting and exciting, it may stir up rather than lull the sexual emotions. If it arouses little interest, it is unable to exert any influence. This is true even of mathematical occupations, which have been advocated by various authorities as aids to sexual hygiene.

It is easier to avoid arousing the sexual impulses than to impose silence on them by hygienic measures, once they are aroused. It is therefore in childhood and youth that all of these hygienic measures may most reasonably be observed, in order to avoid any premature sexual excitement. Soon after puberty it sometimes happens that a prolonged strain of sexual storm and stress dies away, to be succeeded by a period of comparative calm. It must be remembered that in many, perhaps in most individuals, men and women, the sexual appetite, unlike hunger and thirst, can after a prolonged

struggle be reduced to a more or less quiescent state which, far from injuring, may even benefit the physical and psychic vigor generally. If there has never been any sexual gratification, the struggle is less severe and is sooner over, unless the individual is of a highly erotic temperament.

Prenuptial Chastity in Man both an Ethical and Race Obligation.—How can man reconcile the quality of justice, which he assumes is a purely masculine attribute, with the double standard of morals? It must be regarded as genuinely unjust that for the same act the female should have to pay so much more heavily than the male. For the woman there is not only the social death caused by her act, but she has to bear the sole responsibility for the care of the child. Michelis says: "A far juster outlook is that the man's responsibility is the greater, for the man is in addition responsible for the girl, who in the world's eyes is dishonored and who is being exposed to the dangers of motherhood."

1. The Ethical Point of View, and as the Custodian of the Stream of Life.—As a matter of the square deal it would be praiseworthy for the young man to preserve for his wife the first freshness of his sexual emotions. In all countries of the world, according to Michelis, the number of young men who enter upon marriage without having previously had intercourse with women, is known to be small. To-day the impure youth is the counterpart of the pure girl.

From the ethical point of view these considerations do not suffice. Sexual morality needs the bridle of the sentiment of responsibility, equally alike on the part of each sexual partner toward the other; and on the part of both toward the community and toward their offspring.

In the matter of sex, young men are the custodians of

the sacred fire. Their sex will give birth to children; for this reason they must safeguard their vital energies and must not abuse their physical powers. The recognition of the inalienable rights to sexuality, implies also the recognition of the existence of supreme duties both individual and social.

2. The Physiologic Point of View.—Biologists assure us that chastity in man is essential until at least the twenty-fifth year of life, for his full physical, moral and mental development, and that complete sexual abstinence until about this time is advantageous to the constitution. The reason given is that perhaps, on account of the reabsorption of the seminal fluid, the upbuilding of the physical and psychic elasticities is favored, and it is maintained that in certain persons these benefits of abstinence may be continued even beyond the period named.

Medical men assert that we are justified in concluding as the result of personal experience and observation, supplemented by specialists in sexual and nervous diseases, that men are able absolutely to renounce sexual gratification without serious physiologic consequences.

3. For Discipline and Formation of Character.—Primitive Christian chastity was on one side a strenuous discipline. The chastity that is regarded to-day by the moralist as a virtue has its worth by no means only in its abstinence. It is a virtue because it is a discipline in self-control, because it helps to fortify the character and will, and because it is directly favorable to the cultivation of the most beautiful, exalted, and effective sexual life.

The supreme importance of chastity, or even of asceticism, has never at any time, or in any greatly vital human society, altogether failed of recognition. It has fre-

quently changed in the nature of its manifestations, but it has always been there. It is even a part of the beautiful vision of all nature. Thoreau said: "The glory of the world is seen only by a chaste mind." Without chastity it is impossible to maintain the dignity of sexual satisfaction. The society in which its estimation sinks to a minimum is in the last stage of degeneration. Chastity has for sexual appetite an importance which it can never lose, least of all to-day.

The fact that chastity is a real virtue with fine uses becomes evident, when we realize that it has flourished at all times. We find it pronounced among savages; and the special virtues of those peoples are hardness, endurance, and bravery. Savages are also perfectly well aware how valuable sexual continence is, in combination with fasting and solitude, in acquiring the aptitude for abnormal spiritual powers.

4. To Insure Marital Fidelity.—The moral idea of man's sexual life must be pure monogamy. This term is used not only in the sense of faithfulness after marriage, but to imply preconjugal chastity. The ethics of the male have for the most part been the stimulus of learning from his own personal experience the intimacies and refinements of the sexual life in relationship with more than one woman. He further argues that the most beautiful part of love is the prelude, which comes to an end with the possession of the object desired; usually with the very first act of possession. The romance of love takes flight as the preamble comes to an end.

Stable and secure sexual possession has a thousandfold advantages. Into the monotony of the conjugal life it introduces spiritual and psychic influences which are lacking in the first phases of love; and it develops the moral elements which in that phase exist only in the

germ. Marriage may bring a fine and tranquil felicity; it may be the source of economic well-being and the basis of fruitful coöperation between husband and wife, ideal in scope and moral in means.

One coefficient of the amatory life to which far from sufficient attention has been paid is the force of habit. Upon habit depends, in most cases, conjugal fidelity; in all cases, if we except those in which a strong and genuine affection persists, and those in which the conduct is regulated by effective moral convictions. The importance of this factor increases with advancing age, when both man and woman gradually lose their aggressive tendencies of sex. The oncoming of age has tamed their instincts of conquest.

Such phenomena of habituation to monogamy are seen only in the latter stages of married life, for the male is unquestionably characterized by polygamous tendencies. Even woman is, as a rule, not free from polyandrous inclinations. Nevertheless her erotic sensibilities are much less developed than those of the male, for prolonged and severe repression of sexual manifestations during virginity has produced its inevitable results.

Apart from merely moral considerations, one of the principal reasons for the demand of preconjugal purity is that as many marriages as possible may be healthy and happy. Many women with delicate sensibilities, especially those with jealous dispositions or affected with idealism, become embittered and disgusted with marriage itself when they learn that their husbands have had prematrimonial love adventures. For this reason in intellectual circles the number of unhappy women is on the increase.

Still more important is the fact that from the existence of preconjugal polygamous tendencies, we are generally

justified in concluding that when the monogamic union is undertaken it will be greatly endangered.

In the majority of cases the influences working in this direction will not counteract the effect of bachelor experiences, of the ease and pleasures of preconjugal indulgence. A man who has lived incontinently before marriage will find it difficult to endure the sexual abstinence imposed upon him as the result of domestic discords, whether acute or more especially when they become chronic; and further imposed upon him by the pregnancies or absences of his wife.

The world of men must be classified as polygamous and monogamous respectively; it is unsound to classify men as good husbands with preconjugal experiences and bad husbands with the same. No illness exhibits so strong a tendency to relapse as the youthful illness of sexual incontinence.

In the male the stimuli capable of arousing sexual excitement (this term is not to be understood in the grossly physical sense) are so extraordinarily manifold and, so widely differentiated that it is quite impossible for one single woman to possess them all. Thus the husband who is most strict in his observance of conjugal fidelity will encounter a thousand times feminine types of such a nature as to arouse at least a fugitive desire; nor will he be able to hold these natural instincts in check without calling to his aid the *acquired* force of rational and moral considerations.

5. The Extreme Danger of Infection by the Venereal Diseases.—This subject has already been dealt with in the chapter on prostitution, but its importance cannot be exaggerated.

Woman's Attitude Toward the Double Standard of Morals.—Women may in this respect be divided into four classes.

(1) A large majority of young girls entering on married life have been taught to regard previous sexual experience on the part of their husbands as a physiologic necessity, as a matter beyond dispute, and one about which it would therefore be absurd to recriminate, since it belongs to the life of every normal young man.

(2) This smaller group of girls, because for the most part they have been deliberately kept in ignorance by their relatives in all matters concerning the sexual life, give no thought at all to that quality on the part of their future husbands. To many of this class their marital experience is a most rude and brutal awakening.

(3) There is an ever-increasing minority of girls, belonging for the most part to the educated classes, who are animated by the earnest desire to find a life mate whose past sexual conduct shall have been on the same high plane as their own.

(4) There is now a borderland class arising from the extreme feminist wing, who insist that there is going to be a single standard of morals; and that it is up to the men to say just what that standard shall be, whether that of the man or of the woman.

The Atypic Type of Woman and Free Love.—There is in America to-day an atypic class of girls of good social standing who need guidance regarding premarital continence. These are of two types: one with intensive sexuality, which is in reality pathologic and is generally corrected by medical or surgical treatment; and the other of probably normal instincts, but with radical sexual philosophy. The first type needs not only emphatic instruction regarding continence, but more often medical help, either for the general health or for local sexual disorders. The second type must be treated exactly as a young man, because these are women whose anarchistic

repudiation of laws and conventions in general has led to their acceptance of a single standard of morals for men and women, but one of freedom from monogamic ideals. While this type is not common in America to-day, there is reason for fearing that unless some unexpected check comes to this undercurrent toward sexual freedom, it may be found in ten or twenty years from now that a surprisingly large number of unmarried women have fallen into sexual promiscuity, that is so common among unmarried men of the same age.

Chief among the influences which have lead a certain number of well-educated young women toward sexual freedom is radical printed matter. There is now in America a wide distribution of bold literature on "free love," some of it with a scientific superficiality, which will convince many beginners in the study of the sexual problems. Much of this literature is a translation or readaptation of European authors, but some of it is American in origin.

Two other classes of atypic women are the one formed by unprotected girls from low-grade homes and environments, and the uninformed girls from the best homes. These three groups may innocently or deliberately select the pathway to unchastity. For all of these, indeed for all women as well as men, the only solid foundation for their modes of thought, on which their mode of action must necessarily be based, is a systematic sex education begun in childhood and carried on through adolescence to manhood and womanhood.

The Argument against the Theory of Free Love.—Were it not for the fact that this propaganda of "free love" is doing our young people such a vast deal of harm, especially as it falls in with the natural desires of so many, it might be dismissed without further comment.

First of all, the experience of the race has indubitably proved that monogamic marriage is in every way the best and highest form of sexual relationship; that it is essential to man's highest development, the happiness of woman, the rights of the child, and the preservation of the family, of the state, and of the race. Great statesmen in all ages have recognized the family as the essential basis on which the State was founded; for example Augustus Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte, and the present-day statesmen of Japan. When the family was threatened with disintegration because of the degeneracy of the times, they have always expended their best efforts in the passing of laws to prevent such disintegration.

Freedom from restraint in sex relations inevitably leads the majority of men and women to over-indulgence, which seriously impairs health and efficiency. The one salient motive for the opposition to sex license was the necessity for preserving the virility of the young men for war. To-day athletes are enjoined to chastity, and indeed if a man would succeed in anything, he must hold all of his appetites in leash. Promiscuity means a continually renewed stimulus; the passion which quickly becomes normal and intermittent when it expends itself upon one object, is apt to become abnormal and a continuous craving when it is solicited by a succession of novel and piquant attractions. The absence of temptations will leave an instinct dormant which free opportunity to indulge will develop into an abnormal appetite. Nothing more quickly exhausts strength or ambition than absorption in sexual pleasures; we need to put our interests into something which instead of being inimical is proving to be the most advantageous.

The direct inimical result of "*free love*" would fall very heavily on the masses of women who have no

especial sexual attraction. Because of certain practical consequences which experience teaches. "Free love" would mean that the best developed and prettiest girls would be besieged with solicitations, and almost inevitably debauched by the excess of temptation, while the less attractive would starve for love. It would mean jealousies, deserted lovers, and broken hearts. Free love is especially hard on woman, for she readily becomes attached and craves loyalty. Inconstancy, which is so common to man, often needs the pressure of laws and convention for its repression. This is not only the worst enemy of his own happiness, but the inevitable source of friction and clash between men and women. Life would become an irresponsible pleasure seeking, a mere butterfly existence; new affinities would constantly appear on the horizon. The responsibility of parenthood would soon become nonexistent.

Marriage was primarily instituted for the benefit of the offspring; the fruit of connubial intercourse has a much better prenatal chance of life than the illegitimate one; it will better stand the perils of birth and has much better prospects of being sufficiently nourished by the mother. During its early years of life, so fraught with danger as well as afterward, it will have better care and protection, and will in every way have a better start in life. Herein lies the great interest which society and the State have in marriage and the prevention of the procreation of illegitimate children. On these points statistics everywhere show the same results; that there are among these children both a greater number of stillbirths and a greater mortality in the early years of childhood.

The Evolution of Morality.—Morality is none the less so when it is instinctive and natural. It is the general

name for certain redirection of impulses which appeared in animal life long before the emergence of what we may call man from his ape-like ancestry; all of our self-conscious idealism is but a continuation and development of the process then begun.

The most primitive men acknowledged a duty to their neighbors, and the subsequent advance of social morality has consisted in the more comprehensive answers to these questions. No men, however savage, are insensible to the attitude of their fellows toward them; the emotional response of others to their acts was from the beginning a powerful force for morality. When this attitude is explicitly expressed as praise, commendation, or honor on the one hand; or on the other as blame, contempt, ridicule, or rebuke, its power is well-nigh irresistible.

Morality not only makes for life, it makes for happiness as well. All morality is of course regarded in one aspect, a restraint upon desires, a check upon impulse; rebelliousness against its decrees will perpetually recur among unregenerate classes of people. As civilization advances, mere preservation counts for less and happiness for more. It is the underlying utility of morality which is of fundamental importance. As a matter of fact, mankind inherited from its brute ancestry instincts which unguided did them great harm. Without the development of some system of checks men would forever have been the prey of over-indulgence, of sexual wantonness, of civil strife, and apathy; they would have remained beasts and never have won dominion over the earth. Morality has therefore been the greatest instrument of progress, the most important part of the wisdom of the race.

Yet this observable progress is not so certain of continuance. With the lessening of the struggle for existence, the disappearance of the danger from the wild

animals, and the increasing conquest over nature; the chief means of moral progress hitherto had been removed. More and more we must rely on man's conscious efforts, on personal consecration and self-mastery, on improved and extended legislation, on the growth of a moralized public opinion and on organizations and institutions which shall work for specific causes.

With the growing complexity of society, new opportunities for sin and new temptations continually arise. The battle-line moves on, but new foes constantly appear. On the whole our material and intellectual advance has far outrun our moral progress; and at the present time our chief need is to catch up morally.

Cruel as have been the sufferings caused by war, and deplorable as are most of its effects, it did a great deal in the early stages of man's history to promote the personal virtues; alertness, caution, courage, and efficiency. Tragic as the Great War has been, it is the general belief that this purging of the grossness of the world by fire will be followed by a great moral and spiritual uplift and the regeneration of mankind.

CHAPTER VIII

CELIBACY AN EXCRESCENCE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION

Marriage a Duty to the Race; Celibacy in the New England Colonies; Morality and the Law in the New England Colonies; Economic Conditions, One of the Chief Factors of Celibacy; the Effects on Celibacy of the Higher Education, and Culture of Women; the Problems of Life-long Sexual Abstinence; Reflex Action of Celibacy on the Community.

Marriage is a psychological factor, which is necessary for the highest physical welfare of both man and woman. So long as there are no morbid influences, no moral, or material troubles to contend against, the physique of men and women always improves as a consequence of their regular mode of life; and the commencement of senile decay is postponed. It is a well-known fact proven by statistics, that marriage has a beneficial influence on the duration of life.

The fewer the people who marry, the greater will be the infidelity in marriage. Celibates are the enemies of married people and should only be admitted with discretion to their ménage. MONTESQUIEU.

Marriage a Duty to the Race.—Among the savage and barbarous races of men, where the relation of the sexes under normal conditions takes the form of marriage; nearly every individual strives to get married as soon as he or she reaches puberty. Hence bachelors and spinsters are almost unknown among them. Indeed, so indispensable does marriage seem to uncivilized man, that a person who does not marry is looked upon as almost unnatural; a being at any rate who is disdained.

Among many of the early nations of ancient civilization, as we have seen, celibacy was looked upon as an impiety, because one who did not marry put the happiness of the manes of the family in peril. This was a misfortune, because he himself would receive no worship after death. A man's happiness in the next world was supposed to depend on his having a continuous line of male descendants, whose duty it would be to make periodic offerings for the repose of his soul.

Mohammedan peoples generally consider marriage a duty for both men and women. Marriage is enjoined upon every Mohammedan and celibacy is frequently condemned. "When the servant of God marries he perfects half of his religion," said the Prophet. Once Mohammed inquired of a man if he were married and being answered in the negative, he asked: "Art thou sound and healthy?" When the man answered that he was, the Prophet angrily said: "Then thou art one of the brothers of the devil."

The ancient Greeks regarded marriage not merely as a matter of private but of public interest. This was particularly the case in Sparta, where criminal proceedings might be taken against those who married too late and against those who did not marry at all. Plato remarked that every individual was bound to provide for a continuation of representatives to succeed himself, as ministers of the divinity.

Just as among the ancients marriage was considered a religious duty which man owed his ancestors, so to-day marriage is a no less solemn duty that man owes to posterit and to the State. Especially is this true of the educated and professional classes, to transmit through the stream of life to future generations those splendid traits of moral discipline, intellectual acumen, civic

responsibility, and patriotism, which form the highest nobility of character, for which they are to a great degree indebted to their ancestry.

Celibacy in the New England Colonies.—It may be an exaggeration to say that the Mosaic code was the *corpus juris* of the Puritan, but it is certain that the early private laws of New England were very greatly influenced by it. The family in many respects took on the patriarchial character. The sway of the house-father, though in the main just, became in theory despotic. Even the conception of marriage or civil contract gained support from Jewish laws.

Old bachelors, though rare in New England, were looked upon with disfavor and regarded almost as "suspected criminals." In 1762 a special order of the town of Windsor was necessary to permit "Isaac Sheldon and Samuel Rockwell to keep house together; so they carry themselves soberly and do not entertain idle persons to the evil expense of time by day or night." Hartford taxed one man twenty shillings a week for the selfish luxury of solitary living.

Even in the eighteenth century a general statute of Connecticut forbade, under a penalty of twenty shillings a week, any housekeeper or master of a family, without allowance of the selectmen, to give entertainment or habitation to a single person. "And such bourders, sojourners and young persons are required to attend to the worship of God in the families where they live, and to be subject to the domestic government of the same, or else to forfeit five shillings for every breach of the law."

According to a New Haven law, in order to suppress the inconvenience and disorders inconsistent with the law of God in the fifth commandment, single persons not in service, or dwelling with their relatives, are forbidden

to diet or lodge alone; but they are required to live in licensed families. "And the governors of such families are ordered to observe the course, carriage and behavior of every such person; whether he or she walk diligently in a constant lawful employment, attending to both family duties and the public worship of God, and keeping good order day and night or not."

Similar measures were adopted by other colonies. The law of Plymouth provided that "Whereas great inconvenience has arisen by single persons in this colonie, being for themselves and not betaking themselves to live in well governed families; it is enacted by the court, that henceforth no single person be suffered to live by himself, or in any family but in such as the selectmen of the town shall approve of; and any person who shall refuse to attend to such orders shall be summoned to the court to be proceded with as the law shall require."

Spinsters.—In a society where marriages were formed very early, girls often wedding at sixteen or under, and where widows were wooed almost at the bier of the dear departed, it is not surprising if old maids were ridiculed and sometimes despised. A woman of the age of twenty-five became "an ancient maid." John Dunton on the contrary in "His Life and Errors" praises the woman who remained single, not from necessity but from choice; "and who knew that time is a dressing-room for eternity; and therefore uses most of her time for better purposes than those of the comb, the toilet and the glass." At the age of thirty a spinster was called a "thornback," but bachelors and thornbacks were not the only people who caused the lawmakers anxiety. The law kept a sharp eye on married persons not living with their mates.

The colonists prescribed the death penalty for disobedience to parents, following the precepts of the Mosaic

law. Furthermore they attempted to regulate courtship by statute. Thus the court of Plymouth prohibited "any motion of marriage to any man's daughter or mayde servant, without having first obtained leave of the parent or master, under penalty of fine and corporal punishment, in the discretion of the bench. But appeal is allowed to the magistrate, when the master through any sinister or covetous desires, withholds his consent."

Although parents might be prosecuted for unreasonably denying any child timely or convenient marriage, it is evident that lovers had to be very circumspect in the old Colonial days. In a community where the power to dispose of a son or a daughter in wedlock was believed to be the gift of heaven, it is not strange that "allowance" was sometimes hard to get.

Nor was the average New England house-father at all likely to let the sentiment get the better of prudence in seeking to make a match for his child. He was more apt to be governed by a spirit of cold calculation, which never for an instance lost sight of the "main chance."

Morality and the Law in the New England Colonies.— The colonists were extremely anxious to restrain vice by means of legislation. They were determined at all hazards to prevent unchastity and sexual crimes. The death penalty for adultery was prescribed in all of the New England colonies except Plymouth and Rhode Island, and the capital law of Massachusetts at any rate was not a dead letter.

In Plymouth instead of the death penalty "the scarlet letter" was adopted as a permanent badge. A public whipping preceded, and if at any time the offender appeared in public without this stigma, he or she was burned in the face with a hot iron. In more humane Rhode Island, instead of either of the above penalties,

the culprit was to be "publicly set on the gallows for one hour; and shall then be publicly whipped on his or her bared back, not exceeding thirty stripes." The way of the transgressor was hard indeed.

Economic Conditions One of the Chief Factors of Modern Celibacy.—To those who have made no study of social science, the remarkable fact that among the possessing classes so many women remain unmarried and among the working classes so very few, may seem almost inexplicable; but the phenomenon is wholly one of economic causation. The chief cause of celibacy in modern society is the difficulty of supporting a family, and the importance of this factor is distinctly proved by statistics.

In non-European countries, where a precocious civilization has not been introduced, the population is more nearly in proportion to the means of subsistence; and the peoples adopt their mode of life more readily, according to their circumstances. In most cases a man can earn his own living sooner and a wife, far from being a burden to her husband, is on the contrary a help to him, being his laborer or even his supporter. Moreover, children instead of requiring an education, which would absorb their father's earnings, become on the contrary the source of income.

To a certain extent the same thing is true of the agricultural classes of Europe. A peasant wife helps her husband in the field, tends the cattle, and takes part in the fishing. She cooks, washes, sews, spins and weaves. Even in the cities it is not among the poorest classes that celibacy is the most frequent.

The young man belonging to the working classes experiences an urgent need, alike physical and economical, for a permanent life companion. Out of his slender wages he is unable to pay a woman to keep house for

him and render him a little more comfortable, supervise his household expenditures, and mend and wash his clothing; nor is he in a financial condition to keep a concubine for the satisfaction of his sexual desires. He makes use of the brothel far less readily than the young men of the upper and middle classes. Besides, for the working man, purchasable satisfaction has this disadvantage, that it costs money. Thus, by the sheer necessity of filling these two elementary needs, the young proletarian is obliged to take a wife; and he usually does this while in his first youth.

These facts explain why it is that in a population in which there is no great numeric discrepancy between young men and young women between the ages of eighteen and thirty years of age, unmarried proletarian women over thirty years of age are very scarce. This depends on the fact that bachelor workmen are very few and far between.

Then, too, a man requires more time to gain his living by intellectual than by material work. Thus miners, shoemakers, tailors, artisans, etc., who earn in youth almost as much as in adult life, marry as a rule earlier than the professional classes. In most European countries the decrease of marriage is also due to the drafting of young men into the army, and the retention of their enforced bachelorhood during the years when nature most strongly urges matrimony. Of course these conditions affect both men and women.

Again, a "gentleman" before marrying thinks it necessary to have an income, a mere fraction of which would suffice for a married workman. He feels obliged to offer his wife a home in accordance to his social position and her own. Unless she brings him a fortune, she contributes but little to the support of the family. It is obvious

that women have to suffer from this trouble more than men; the lives of many of them being comparatively useless and their pretension nevertheless so high.

Another factor in the problem is the young woman's attitude toward love and marriage. It is a lamentable fact that many wives lose interest in devoted husbands when children come. This is probably true in at least half of the families, and many matrimonial disharmonies are the result. This problem is especially important in these days when household inefficiency, personal extravagance, and the desire for social position of numerous young women of from twenty to thirty years of age is having an enormous influence in advancing the age of marriage, because many of the best types of young men pause and consider seriously the impossibility of adjusting a small salary to the ideas of their women friends as to what is the minimum of a family budget. Add to these facts a growing pessimism on the part of young men regarding the inconstant affection of wives with children, and the need of especial educational attack is evident.

The need of marriage felt by the proletarian may be said to exist but little for the highly paid operatives forming the so-called aristocracy of labor. It does not exist at all for the young men of the upper middle classes. In case of the latter the reasons leading him to a loose life before marriage frequently operate to make him avoid marriage altogether. In the struggle for life to which he also is exposed, many years must usually pass, be he employé, merchant, or a member of one of the learned professions, before his means suffice for the support of a wife and children.

When at length, as middle age approaches, he is well enough off to found a family, he has so often become hab-

ituated to extraconjugal enjoyment that not even the desire so strong in many men for a male heir will drive him to abandon his easy and careless bachelor life to embark on the waters of matrimony. He is influenced also by certain social inconveniences resulting from marriage. He thinks with alarm of the rapacity of those women with marriageable daughters, of the young women whose aim in life is not true companionship with their husbands, but simply of an easy time for themselves. Above all, he considers that in every degree in which woman gains her freedom by marriage, a man loses his; and this in many cases deprives marriage of all of its attractions.

Whereas before marriage, in accordance with the conventional code of sexual morals, all sexual irregularities are forgiven a man so long as he observes certain "elegancies," once married, he is expected outwardly at least, to observe certain decencies. But fidelity to his wife will involve serious sacrifices. Anyone well acquainted with the force of habit, as exhibited in history and in individual human lives cannot fail to see how difficult it is for a man who has experienced so many years of extraconjugal indulgence to accustom himself to monogamy, more especially when his wife is engaged in childbearing.

Of course there are many men who voluntarily refuse to accept the risks, indignities, duties, hardships and trials of matrimonial life, but in the great majority of cases the primary cause of the celibacy of men is due to economic conditions. The number of young men who cannot afford to marry at the age when mating most strongly appeals to the human race is large enough to produce very serious results. The higher the class of work that the man is engaged in, the more likely he is to find himself in the bachelor class until he has reached or

passed middle age. The higher departments of science, law, medicine, literature, and the fine arts, are notoriously starved in early manhood.

It is now believed by many that when economic conditions are so improved that every young woman will be capable of making an honest and honorable living, that the street will make no more recruits and when by reason of woman's economic help every young man can afford to marry, prostitution and bachelordom will die natural deaths.

The average man has not yet become sufficiently discriminating to recognize the greater helpfulness and companionship of the intellectual girl over the society butterfly. For the general run of young men "the intellectual girl is about as attractive as a hair shirt," and as the society girl has become more ease-loving and luxurious in her tastes, the demands of this class of women have become increasingly excessive, without affording any equivalent compensation. She belongs to the class of luxuries, such as yachts, motors, and other modern extravagances, which a man is obliged to do without, if he cannot afford them.

For the present the importance of the psychic irradiations of love is shown perhaps more clearly from the results of their presence in old bachelors than from any other consideration. For the compensation of the void made by the absence of love and family, man has found his highest enjoyment in hard intellectual, scientific, or some other form of creative work, but in spite of this the old bachelor is notably cynical, pessimistic, and morose. Being acquainted only with the worst side of women, he wrongly attributes to all women the character of those with whom he has had the most intimate relations, and so becomes a misogynist.

The philosopher, Schopenhauer, was a notable example of this class.

The creative instinct is deeply implanted in every human being, and is almost universally manifested by the desire for offspring, as well as the instinct among men to hand down through future generations their name and line of descent. In these later days the creative instinct finds a normal outlet and mode of expression through invention, literature, music, and the arts; so with the progress of civilization, the desire for offspring has become less intense. Man's first appreciation of woman was because of her fertility and his desire to found a family, and so to become the head of a powerful clan.

The family, it is alleged, is in danger of disintegration through the tendency to individualism, which in many ways is so striking a characteristic of the age. Arising in urban and economic life, with a rise of the corporate and associated industries, comes a weakening of the home ties. Through division of labor the hearthstone is becoming a mere temporary meeting place of individual wage earners. The congestion of population in cities is forming into a new and lower form of life; the tenement and sweating systems are destructive to the home.

The Effects on Celibacy of the Higher Education and Culture of Women.—The fear that the higher education of woman in connection with her growing independence, will be harmful to society through her refusal of matrimony appears to be groundless. According to Dike, the demand for her enfranchisement, either as a right or on the ground of expediency, grows out of treating her as an individual whose relations to society are less a matter of condition and more a matter of personal choice.

We have seen that the present economic conditions are the chief factor in late marriages and the falling

birth rate; therefore, as college women form only three per cent. of all women, this would not appreciably affect the general marriage rate.

Further than this, the average age at which women marry depends greatly on the age of civilization. Ploss has justly pointed out that the ruder a people is, and the more exclusively woman is regarded as an object of desire or a slave, the earlier in life she is generally chosen; whereas, if marriage becomes a union of souls as well as of bodies, the man claims a higher degree of mental maturity from the woman he wishes to be his wife.

In modern times, with the general diffusion of education and culture, the new inventions and discoveries of the age, the increase of commerce, intercourse and wealth, the tastes of men and women have broadened, their desires have multiplied, and new gratifications and pleasures have been supplied to them. With the comforts offered by the club for either man or woman, the domestic circle does not fill so large a place in life as formerly. Married life in some measure has lost its advantages over single life. It is also believed that the development of the mental faculties has made the sexual impulse less powerful; that instinct is said to be most excessive in animals who have the least intelligence. Idiots are known to display gross sensuality. The suggestion that the decrease of the sexual desire is a necessary attendant upon mental evolution cannot by any means be considered to have been scientifically proved. A higher degree of forethought and self-control have put a check upon human passions. They are restrained by powerful bit and rein.

Finally, there can be no doubt that the higher development of refinement has helped to increase the number of those who have remained single. By the diffusion of a

finer culture through the community, men and women can less easily find any one whom they are willing to take as a partner for life; their requirements are more exacting, their standards of excellence higher, they are less able to find anyone who can satisfy their ideals, and they are in turn less able to satisfy the ideals of anybody else. Men and women are also beginning to have a livelier sense of the seriousness of the married union and the high motives alone from which it should be formed; they are less willing to contract it from the lower ones.

Then too the general culture among women of the wealthy, the well-to-do, and educated classes is of a much higher grade than that of their brothers and husbands. When a young man graduates from college, if he does not enter on a professional career he immediately goes into business, while the daughters of these same families, whether college graduates or not, spend a great deal of time in foreign travel, visiting old historic scenes and the marvelous architecture of Europe's wonderful old cathedrals, studying the masterpieces of the greatest painters and sculptors in the world. Added to this, travel itself through such magnificent scenery as parts of Europe affords, broadens the vision and uplifts the senses, so her tastes become cultivated. In her travels she naturally meets many men of leisure and culture, and not unnaturally compares them with the other young men of her acquaintance. The comparison, from the cultural point of view, is rather damning to America's sons.[1] Woman, as a rule, knows too little of the world of men to discriminate between polish and veneer and the

[1] All this has been changed by the War, as man comes home with such a broadened vision as has hitherto been unknown to the human race.

man of sterling worth, whose greatest sin has been that he has been so wrapped up, body and soul, in concentration of all his energies on the accumulation of wealth, as to have no time left for that intellectual culture which gives refinement to the habit of life and manners, and affords the real joy of living.

This double standard of education of men and women is doubtless one of the great causes of that lack of matrimonial harmony which so often ends in the divorce courts. Boys and girls, instead of having been fitted by their education and training to become life companions, are scarcely fitted to live in the same class, to say nothing of living in the same house. The great weakness in the education of girls has been that the fact has not been recognized that if they are to becomes wives and coworkers with their husbands, they must be trained for their work. Their education, if such it can be called, has been too haphazard; too many have been mere butterflies of fashion.

It may be taken as an axiom that no girl or young woman ever started out in life with the fixed or even vague intention of becoming a spinster. On the contrary we have seen that the sole vocation of woman was to get married. This pre-supposed being taken care of, and involved no preparation, training, or responsibilities on the part of the girl; so their lives have been spent like driftwood, floating down the current of time until they could make a good "catch."

Never has a greater fallacy been promulgated than the belief that the educated classes of girls remain unmarried because they shirk the responsibilities of motherhood. A girl or woman who has so lost her best instincts of motherhood will and often does marry; such a girl will promise anything before marriage and afterward see to it that there are no children.

In the law of nature water seeks its own level. If a girl is going to be happily married, it must be to a man of her own class who has enjoyed equally good opportunities for culture and whose tastes are similar. For these reasons her opportunities of meeting men whom she considers eligible are fewer; and as she grows older, her actual opportunities for marriage grow less.

Moreover, there are many women of admirable character, strong, capable, and independent, who dislike the domestic habits of men. They have no natural turn for mothering and coddling them, and find the concessions to conjugal rights in the present state of matrimony intolerable to their self-respect, yet the general sense of the community recognizes in these very women the fittest people to have charge of their children, and see a good deal of maternal ability expended on general philanthropic works of a very high character. These are the very women who in the highest interests of the race should become mothers, but they place a very high price on wifehood and motherhood, and are only willing to bear such children as will continue their own high intellectual and moral standards.

Run over in your mind the notable women of America who have remained unmarried; among them you will find women of great wealth, noted philanthropists, writers, teachers, musicians, artists, and professional women. We dare venture the assertion that any one of these women would tell you that the ideal life was a happy married life, and that no home was complete without children.

The modern woman, like Brunhilde of old, has set up certain tests for the prize. If the man would win her he must excel in those tests for which she herself is notable: the physical, moral, intellectual, and cultural.

It is generally conceded that the void left in normal woman by the absence of love is greater than in man; yet her natural energy and perseverance, combined with her power of devotion, enable her to concentrate all of her energies on her chosen line of work, which is to a large degree compensatory. As the various vocations, intellectual and other pursuits, have been thrown open to women, she not only finds here the fulfilment of her creative needs, but the world is also greatly enriched and her maternal instincts lead her to the highest deeds of altruism.

The Problem of Life-long Sexual Abstinence.—We have seen that up to the age of twenty-five years, sexual abstinence is essential for the complete and highest development of the individual. In view of all the evidence we can scarcely escape the conviction that while in the majority of cases sexual abstinence is not incompatible with health, there are yet many adults, both men and women, for whom it is harmful, and a very much larger number for whom, when too prolonged, it is undesirable.

With women who are endowed with strong passions and reckless impulses to abandonment, the results may be highly enervating, if not disastrous, to the general psychic life. It is to this cause that some have been inclined to attribute the mediocre work of women in artistic and general intellectual fields. Women of intellectual force are frequently, if not generally, women of strong passions; and if they resist the tendency to merge themselves in the duties of maternity, their lives are often wasted in emotional conflict and their psychic lives are impoverished.

In the working classes the mature woman who remains a maid, in the strict physiologic sense of the term, is

altogether an abnormal phenomenon. The preservation of virginity depends upon continued supervision and satisfactory housing conditions. The working girl knows neither the one nor the other. With rare exceptions, among such wage-earning women as factory girls, agricultural workers, and house servants, none over thirty years of age remain unmarried.

Many, though not all, who deny that prolonged sexual abstinence is harmless include women in this statement. There are some authorities who believe that whether or not any conscious sexual desire is present, sexual abstinence is less well tolerated by women than men.

A great many women who are healthy, chaste, and modest feel at times powerful sexual desires. Numerous distinguished gynecologists have recorded their belief that sexual abstinence is the cause of various of the diseases of the female sexual organs.

Freud contends that many of the neuroses of civilization are caused by the repression of the sexual instincts. To make this assertion of any value, very extensive and carefully prepared statistics would have to be compiled, comparing the physical condition of the single with that of the married woman of the same class. Then, too, when every woman has a definite vocation, which absorbs her entire interests and energies, just as the man of to-day has, we shall be in a better position to judge the effects of sexual abstinence on her physical and psychic well being.

Bebel says: "When we consider the intensity of the sexual impulses, we cannot be surprised at the effects which abstinence at a mature age exercises upon the nervous system and the whole constitution. . . The degree of perfection which any man or woman can obtain depends upon the manner in which the impulses and vital

manifestations show themselves in sex; and on the extent with which sexual life finds expression in organic and spiritual development, in form and character. Only when this expression is complete can the individual reach his own completeness."

Reflex Action of Celibacy on the Community.—Those people who avoid marriage in order not to diminish their luxuries, or to lose their independence or convenience, should be considered as a sporadic social evil. They not only fail in their duty to the State and to the race, but they endanger the integrity of the family circle. In the words of Virey: "They are like the stones detached from the arch of an edifice, which only accelerate its ruin." Even in marrying late in life the majority form those marriages, which are disproportionate in age, and so constitute a physiologic scandal. They cannot be happily married, nor procreate healthy children.

The tendency to irregular relations between the sexes has increased with the progress of civilization. It has been proved in the cities of Europe that prostitution increases as marriage decreases, also that the fewer marriages contracted in a year, the greater the number of illegitimate births.

It must not be forgotten that marriage sustains morality, society, and the laws, while on the other hand celibacy tends toward prostitution, adultery, illegitimacy, and depopulation. The longer celibacy is prolonged, the more illegitimacy is promoted. The increase of illegitimacy is closely correlated to the late deferred period of marriage of young people, till a position is established and military service is completed.

It has been observed that when a State is on its way to ruin, whether by bad government or excessive inequality of fortune, the number of marriages, as well as of

the population decreases. On the contrary, that country which is well governed and has the greatest number of inhabitants who are able to marry, and to establish and maintain families, has an enviable vigor.

Wèstermarck says marriage is the natural form of the sexual relations of man. Far from being a relic of the primitive life of man, irregularity is in this respect an anomaly arising chiefly from circumstances associated with certain stages of development. Prostitution is rare among people living in a state of nature and unaffected by foreign influences. It is contrary to woman's feelings, as involving a suppression of natural inclinations.

CHAPTER IX

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LOVE, MODESTY AND DRESS: OF COURTSHIP, COQUETRY, AND FLIRTATION

Rut and Love; Sexual Selection Based on Love and Calculation; Amorous Intoxication; Durable Love; Jealousy; the Evolution of Modesty and Dress; Modesty Simply the Result of Clothing; Clothing Used as a Protection against the Lusts of Men; the Husband's Jealousy the Cause of the Adoption of Clothes; Man Really Constitutes the Modest Sex; the Psychology of Dress; Woman's Dress and Adornments in Ancient Civilization; Woman's Dress in the Renaissance; Woman's Dress of the Present Day; Woman's Dress in the New Democracy; the Psychology of Courtship and Coquetry; Flirtation.

The influence of all the other passions which agitate the human heart could not begin to balance that of love, which inflames the senses and fascinates the reason. Love is one of the most powerful factors of civilization; it is celebrated in the most sublime works of art, of the most noble, poetic, and musical creations. It is the underlying cause of the family and of social life.

On the other hand we fear love as a destructive flame; it is that which has engendered more misery, vice, and crime than all other calamities put together. Love is so prodigious; its influence is so enormous upon the psychic life, and the most diverse functions of the nervous system. Nevertheless comparative biology and the history of development lead us surely and indubitably to the most ancient and simple form of love, that is to the elective affinity of two different cells, the spermatic cell and the ovule. —Letourneau.

Rut and Love.—With the greater development of the nervous system, and finally when the consciousness of life awoke in the nerve centers, the great generative

system assumed an entirely different aspect. In the animal hierarchy reproduction is effected unconsciously in a wholly mechanical manner, but among human beings the generative act is a true expansion, both physically and psychically, and this expenditure of physical and psychic force has for its object the bringing together of the cells of generation.

Human inclinations and the hereditary instincts sprang up by a habituation which is determined in the nervous cells by a sufficient repetition of the same acts. The genesic instinct could not have had any other origin. During the very long period of their evolution the animal species are produced at first unconsciously by the very simple processes that we observe in certain zoöphytes. Then the primitive animal essays are differentiated and perfected; having acquired special organs they divide the biologic labor. From that point the exercise of life is retained in the nerve centers. It has awakened there impressions and desires, whose energy corresponds strictly to the importance of the functions. Now the most primordial of the functions is that of generation, since upon that depends the propagation of the species.

Among a number of animals the rut explodes like a kind of madness. Little or big, the psychic faculties of the animal are always abnormally excited and they go beyond their ordinary plane, but all tend to one supreme end, the necessity for generation. At this moment some kinds of wild and unsocial animals can no longer endure solitude; males and females seek each other, and sometimes one even sees them form small groups or provisional societies that dissolve after the mating season.

Sexual Selection Based on Love and Calculation.—Sexual desire is the passion which unites the sexes,

The stimulating impressions produced by health, youth, beauty, ornaments and other artificial means of attraction are all elements of this feeling.

In the lower stage of human development marital affection is much inferior in intensity to the tender affection of parents toward their children, and among several peoples it appears to be almost unknown. Though originally of much less intensity than parental love, especially on the side of the mother, yet it seems in its most primitive form to be almost as old as marriage itself. It must have been a certain degree of affection that induced the male to defend the female during her period of pregnancy; but often it is the joint care of the offspring more than anything else that makes the married couple attached to each other.

Marital affection has not only increased, but has also become more refined as altruism has developed and civilization has advanced. In Eastern countries which retain their ancient civilizations, there exists even now little of that tenderness toward women, which is one of the principle charms of our own family life. The object with which a Hindu marries is not to gain a companion to help him endure the evils of life, but a slave to bear him children and be subservient to his rule.

At the time of puberty an ardent desire, a powerful impulse, arises in the nervous system, which attracts the individual toward the opposite sex. The care and pleasure of self-preservation, which has hitherto occupied his whole attention, becomes effaced by this new impulse. The desire to procreate predominates everything. A single pleasure, a single desire, a single passion lays hold of the entire organism and urges it toward an individual of the opposite sex, to become united with it in contact and penetration. It is as if the nervous sys-

tem or the whole organism felt as if it had for the moment become a germinal cell, so powerful is its desire to unite with the other sex.

If we look at nature we see everywhere the same desire and the same attraction of the sexes for each other, but in the lower organisms desire consists only in sexual instinct and appetite; as soon as the function is accomplished desire disappears. It is only in the higher animals that we see more or less durable sympathy developed between the two sexes. However, here also, even in man, the sexual passion intoxicates for the moment all of the senses. In his sexual passion man is dominated as if by a magic influence, and for the time being he sees the world only under the aspect of this influence. Each moment of his amorous feeling inspires sentiments which, it seems to him, should last eternally. He swears impossible things and believes in immortal happiness, but as soon as the orgasm is ended and the appetite satisfied, the feeling of satiety appears. It is from the point of view of the intellect, sentiment, and will, that the sexual appetite must be considered, to make it comprehensible.

Love with all that pertains to it belongs to the mind; that is, to the activity of the cerebral hemispheres, but it is produced there by secondary irradiation from the sexual appetite. Having entered the higher brain or organ of the mind, it becomes modified, complicated, and combined with the different branches of psychic activity; the sexual appetite then takes the name of love properly so-called. The irradiations of love in the mind constitute one of the fundamental conditions of human happiness and one of the principle objects of life.

First of all, love usually appears to be kindled by sexual appetite. However, the relations between love and sexual appetite are very delicate and complex. In

man the second may exist without the first, and love may often persist without appetite, while in woman the two things are hard to separate, and in her case original appetite without love is rare.

It may also happen that love precedes appetite, and this often leads to the most happy unions. Two characters may have extreme mutual sympathy, and this purely intellectual and sentimental sympathy may at first develop without a shadow of sensuality. In modern society an enormous number of sexual unions are consummated without a trace of love, and are based on pure speculation, conventionality, or fortune. Here it is tacitly assumed that normal sexual appetite, combined with custom, will cement the marriage and render it durable.

What the normal woman requires is love, tenderness, a firm support for life, a certain chivalrous nature, and children. She can renounce the voluptuous sensations of coitus infinitely more easily than these other things, which are for her the chief ones. Nothing makes a woman more indignant than the indifference of her husband, when for instance he treats her simply as a housekeeper. Woman is sensual in a manner different from man, not more nor less so.

All of the peculiarities of the sexual appetite in woman are thus the combined products of first, the profound influence of the sexual functions on her whole existence; second, by her passive sexual rôle; and third, by her especial mental faculties. By these and more especially her passive sexual rôle are explained her instinctive coquettishness and her love of finery and personal adornment; in a word, her desire to please men by her external appearance, by her looks, movements, and grace. These phenomena betray the instinctive sexual desires of the

young girl, which do not normally correspond to a direct desire for coitus.

Amorous Intoxication.—The affinities are at once apparent. A man and woman meet and take a fancy to each other. The reciprocal action of looks, speech, touch; in fact all of the apparatus of the senses and the mind awaken in both of them sentiments of sympathy and sexual desire, which mutually strengthen each other. Sexual desire invests every action and the appearance of the loved one with an ever-increasing halo of charm and splendor. This halo, of sexual origin, increases in its turn the sentiments of sympathy, while the sentiments of sympathy increase the sexual desire. In this way mutual suggestion grows like a snowball and rapidly attains the culminating point of amorous intoxication, or what is called "being madly in love."

All of this depends on reciprocal illusion. The more violent and foolish the amorous intoxication without the preparation of reflection, and the less the individuals know each other, the more rapidly the illusion collapses like a house of cards, as soon as some douche of cold water sobers the two lovers.

It is a well-known law, generally forgotten in human calculations, that man loves best those to whom he devotes himself, and not those from whom he receives benefits. When one of the conjoints in marriage adulates the other, the latter may easily find this adulation quite natural; and may love the other conjoint much less than a spoiled child, to which is devoted all of the transports of an unreasonable affection. The spoiled child, the object of such blind affection, more often responds to it by indifference or even by ingratitude, disdain, and impertinence. This is an explanation for the attraction which *morons* have for intellectual men; they call out in them

the highest type of fatherly instinct for molding and training the girl, as they believe, to their own high ideals of life, not at the time comprehending that such subnormal brain capacity cannot be developed perhaps beyond the sixteenth year of life.

To be complete, love must be reciprocal, and to remain mutual it requires education in marriage. Every husband should be separated, above all, from himself, and not from his wife. If each one did all in the limits of his power to promote the happiness of the other, this altruistic effort would strengthen his own sentiments of sympathy. This requires a constant and loyal effort on each side, but it avoids the illusion of a false love provoked by the senses, and vanishing like smoke or becoming changed into hatred.

Durable Love.—Certainly there lies at the root of all love the unconscious search for the ideal, but for an ideal in a concrete, personal form, incarnate for the moment in an individual. By a process of mental abstraction similar to that which draws from the perceptions the most general ideas, the concrete image is transformed into a vague scheme, a concept, an absolute ideal; and we have a purely intellectual, Platonic, mystical love, the emotion being wholly intellectualized.

In this ascending evolution from the instinctive to the idealistic form there is a decisive moment, namely the appearance of the individual choice. This is the especial criterion which differentiates instinct from emotion. At bottom the irresistible element is the sexual instinct, because of which it only exists; instinctive activity alone has such power.

It may be stated as a principle that true and elevated love is durable, and that the sudden passion which sets loose the sexual appetite toward an individual of the

opposite sex, hitherto a stranger, in no way represents the measure of true love. Passion warps the judgment, conceals the most evident faults, presents everything in celestial colors, renders the lovers blind, and veils the true character of each from the other. This is why sudden amours are always dangerous, and why only long and profound mutual acquaintance before marriage can lead to a happy and lasting union. Even in this case the unforeseen is not absent, for it is very rarely that one knows a man and his ancestry.

Affection depends to a very high degree upon sympathy, each mutually strengthening the other. Community of interests, sentiments, culture and mode of life are essential to close sympathy, and therefore favorable to warm affection. If love is excited by contrasts, it is only within certain limits. The contrasts must not be so great as to exclude sympathy. Great difference of age is fatal to this.

It is to this want of affection and sympathy between different layers of society, together with the vain desire of keeping the blood pure, that the prohibition of marriage out of class or the general avoidance of such marriages owes its origin.

Difference in religion as well as in nationality has also formed a great barrier to marriage. It is mainly religion that has kept the Jews a comparatively pure race. The Roman Church prohibits marriage with Protestants and with Jews. It is a noteworthy fact that in countries which are partly Protestant and partly Roman Catholic, mixed marriages form only a small per cent. of the marriages.

There can be no true companionship where the husband and wife are not equals in birth; that is, in ancestry, education, environment, altruistic and religious

sentiments, and economic independence. Love is sure to die if a woman is merely either a man's housekeeper or an expensive exotic plant. Each must share in the household economics and in the rearing of the children.

Love has often been defined as a dual egoism. When, after mature deliberation, a man and a woman are led by sexual attraction, combined with harmony of character, to form a union in which they stimulate each other to social work, commencing this work with their mutual education and that of their children, such may be defined as ideal love.

Such a conception of love refines this sentiment and purifies it to such an extent that it loses all of the pettiness which so often causes it to degenerate, even in its most loyal form. The social work in common of a man and woman united by true affection, full of tenderness for one another, mutually encouraging one another to perseverance and action, will easily triumph over petty jealousies and all other instinctive reactions of the phylogenetic exclusiveness of natural love. The sentiments of love will thus even become more and more ideal, and will no longer provide egoism with the soil of idleness and comfort, on which it grows like a weed.

Jealousy.—The worst irradiation which we have inherited from our animal ancestors, and that which is most deeply rooted, is jealousy. This passion has a very instinctive character and is profoundly hereditary. Jealousy is a heritage of both animalism and barbarism; it is ten times better for a woman to marry an unfaithful husband than a jealous one, and very far better not to marry either. Jealousy transforms marriage into hell. On the part of the husband there is perpetual suspicion accompanied by insults, threats, and violent words, and even homicide may be the result of this atrocious passion.

While jealousy on the part of the wife may be less brutal, it is just as unendurable; this jealousy extends not only to other women, but to the husband's family, his male friends, and all of his pleasures and enjoyments. It is more instinctive and more constantly nagging; it manifests itself by quarrels, needle pricks, chicanery, tears and petty tyrannies, and the wife poses in public as a martyr to a brutal husband, while in the domestic circle she is a very devil. If a man is of a highly chivalrous nature he frequently takes to drink in order to forget his troubles or he may commit suicide. All physicians are familiar with such cases. The point to be emphasized is that in America at any rate this is more often a trait of the wife than of the husband. This is one of the very worst traits of the human mind; it should be looked out for before betrothal and it is more than sufficient cause for breaking an engagement.

The Evolution of Modesty and Dress.—Modesty has been defined as an almost instinctive fear prompting to concealment, usually centering around the sexual processes. While common to both sexes, it has usually been considered so peculiarly feminine as to be classed as a secondary psychic characteristic of woman.

"It is clear," wrote Stendhal, "that three parts of modesty are taught. This is perhaps the only law born of civilization which produces nothing but happiness . . . Love is the miracle of civilization."

There are various theories of modesty as denoted by the adoption of clothing, when not required as a protection against climate. (1) It has generally been observed by travelers that very many nude peoples are extremely modest. (2) It is believed by many that primeval woman used clothing as a protection against the lust of man. (3) By others it is believed that the jealousy of

the husband obliged his woman to cover her body or parts of it from the gaze of other men. (4) Modesty is foreign to a child, and therefore it is the result of convention and education. (5) Modesty, far from being a natural characteristic of woman, is only an assumed attitude on her part, and it is really man who constitutes the the modest sex. (6) Dress is used by woman as a means of sexual attraction.

The significance of such an inquiry becomes greater when we reflect that to the reticence of sexual modesty, in its progression, expansion, and complication, we owe largely not only the refinement and development of the sexual emotions, but also the subtle and pervading part which the sexual instinct has played in all human cultures.

1. Modesty Simply as the Result of Clothing.—Many psychologists, including Sergi, have regarded modesty simply as the result of clothing. The view is completely overturned by the well-ascertained fact that many races which go absolutely naked possess a highly developed sense of modesty.

Numerous travelers have remarked that there is nothing indecent in absolute nakedness, when the eye has gotten accustomed to it. Custom familiarizes them to each other's eyes as much as if they went about muffled up in garments. Wallace remarks that there is much more immodesty in the transparent and flesh colored garments of our stage dancers than in the perfect nudity of the daughters of the forest. And Rowley says: "Your sense of propriety is far less offended than in England, where ample clothing is made the vehicle of asserting defiance if not of the actual law, yet the wishes and feelings of the most virtuous of the community."

There are several instances where people who habitu-

ally go naked, sometimes use a covering simply as a means of attraction. For instance we are told that among the Saliras only harlots clothe themselves, and they do so to attract through the unknown. What however does excite the youth or man in the female sex is anything unusual, the sight of certain parts of the skin which are usually covered, the clothes, or ornaments. The sexual appetite of boys among savage peoples is not at all excited by the sight of naked girls; on the other hand it is strongly excited by those who are clothed or ornamented in a peculiar manner.

Ideas of modesty are different in every country and change at different periods of time. These ideas of modesty are therefore relative and conventional. It is not the feeling of shame which has provoked the covering, but the covering which has provoked the feeling of shame.

It has been remarked that this feeling is founded upon the dread of being condemned or ill thought of by others, undoubtedly one of the most powerful motives of human actions. Custom is as potent among savage nations as law has ever been among civilized ones.

These facts appear to prove that the feeling of shame, far from being the original cause of man's covering his body, is on the contrary the result of this custom; and the covering, if not used as a protection against the climate, owes its origin in the majority of cases to the desire of men and women to make themselves mutually attractive.

2. Clothing Used as a Protection against the Lusts of Men.—In primitive times woman was a form of booty; she was the prey of conquerors in war and the prize of the successful single rival in private combat. She had every reason to be on her guard against the brutality of the male in sexual matters. Thus a dread of the male,

that is to say, of men in general, has come to dominate her life, and it became instinctive in women to conceal from the masculine gaze those parts of her body which are capable of stimulating man's sexual desires and of exposing women to sexual aggression. From this point of view the sense of modesty is a consequence of fear, or a preventive measure, as it were, against the uncontrolled sexual desires of the male. This defensive character of modesty is still manifest.

3. The Husband's Jealousy the Cause of the Adoption of Clothes.—With the conception of woman as property was emphasized the importance and necessity of clothing, and indirectly of modesty. Waitz, followed by Letourneau and Schurz, has insisted that the jealousy of husbands is the primary origin of clothing, and therefore of modesty. Diderot in the last century had already given expression to the same view. It is undoubtedly true that married women alone are often clothed, and that the unmarried woman, although full grown, remains naked. In many parts of the world also, where the men are naked and the women covered, clothing is regarded as a sort of disgrace, and men can only with difficulty be persuaded to adopt it.

Before marriage a woman was often free, not bound to chastity, and at the same time often naked; after marriage she was clothed and no longer free. To the husband's mind the garments appear, illogically although naturally, a moral and physical protection against any attacks on his property. As the conception of property also extended to the rights of fathers over their daughters, and the appreciation of female chastity developed, this motive spread to the unmarried as well as to the married women. It probably constituted the chief element furnished to the complex emotion of modesty by the barbarous stages of civilization.

When civilization slowly emerged from barbarism, this chief new feature became elaborated into a sort of social ritual. Civilization expanded the range of modesty and at the same time rendered it more changeable. This is particularly striking in the attention devoted to the elaboration of the most minute details of modesty by the French, in the seventeenth century, and by the English, in the eighteenth.

Modesty thus came to have the force of a tradition, a vague but massive force which has always borne down heavily upon advancing civilization. Even fashion in civilized countries can easily inhibit anatomic modesty, and rapidly exhibit or accentuate in turn almost any part of the body. There is no single part of the human body which has not, at some time or place, been regarded as the center of human modesty. Moreover, shame has no necessary relation with morality.

Psychologists are pretty well agreed that on the whole modesty does not become a more prominent emotion as civilization advances; modesty in becoming extended did not necessarily become intensified. On the contrary, this very expansion was a sign of weakness. Among savages modesty is far more ineradicable than among civilized peoples. The mere fact that in ancient Greece, the very front of modern civilization, manners and customs were current, which were hardly possible in association with a highly developed sense of modesty, would appear to sustain this theory. Anthropologists have found a very highly developed sense of shame among people extremely low in the social scale. Among all primitive races the necessity for concealing the sexual organs from the sight of strangers is strongly felt.

In Rome male athletes were entirely naked until the end of the fourth century, A.D.; and during the August

festival the women appeared naked in the theater or while swimming in the large baths. It was not until the sixth century that woman was forbidden to expose herself in public unless she wore at least short drawers covering the lower part of the abdomen. This is the first reference to this theatric garment.

It was not until the sixteenth century that the shirt began to be worn in Germany. From this fact, as well as from the custom of public bathing, it would seem that among the German people the sight of complete nakedness was the daily rule up to this time. Everyone undressed completely before going to bed, and in the vapor bath no covering was used.

It was at the epoch when Calvinism began to flourish that nudity was first proscribed by custom, taking refuge in art, which alone preserved the tradition of it. In the early part of the seventh century the custom of nakedness appears to have been nearly universal.

Taine pointed out that it was in France, during the eighteenth century, that the idea developed that modesty, like dress, is a convention. From this the pendulum naturally swung to the other extreme of prudery. Mary Wollstoncraft quotes the following remarks. "When a lady was asked if women might be instructed in the modern system of botany, she emphatically replied: 'They cannot!' In the present century a knowledge of the physiology of plants is not usually considered inconsistent with modesty, but a knowledge of animal physiology is still so considered by many.

4. Man Really Constitutes the Modest Sex.—The feminine instinct of shame is not the outcome of any natural instinct; the child knows nothing of it. It is a well-known fact that a child left to itself, though very bashful, is wholly devoid of modesty. Under civilized

conditions the conventions of modesty long precede its development. It may fairly be stated that this takes place at puberty, and to that coincidence the compound nature of modesty may be largely ascribed.

That modesty is not a feminine characteristic is also the view of Madame Celine Renooz[1] "Modesty," she argues, is masculine shame attributed to women for two reasons: first, because man believes that woman is subject to the same laws as himself; secondly, because the course of human evolution has reversed the psychology of the sexes, attributing to women the results of masculine sexuality. This is the origin of the conventional lies which by a sort of social suggestion have intimidated women. They have, in appearance at least, accepted the rules of shame imposed on them by men, but only custom inspires the modesty for which they are praised. It is really an outrage to their sex. This reversal of psychologic laws has only been accepted with a struggle by women.

"Primitive woman proud of her womanhood, for a long time defended her nakedness, which ancient art has always represented. In the actual life of the young girl to-day there is a moment when, by a secret atavism, she feels the pride of her sex, the intuition of her moral superiority, and she cannot understand why she must hide its cause. At this moment, wavering between the laws of nature and social conventions, she scarcely knows whether nakedness should or should not affright her. A sort of confused atavistic memory recalls to her a period before clothing was known, and reveals to her as a sort of paradisical ideal the customs of that human epoch."

In support of this view the author proceeds to point

[1] Psychologie Comparée de l'Homme et de la Femme, 1898.

out that the décolleté constantly appears in the feminine clothing, never in the male; that missionaries experience great difficulty in persuading women to cover themselves; and that while women accept with facility examination by male doctors, men cannot force themselves to accept examinations by women doctors. These and similar points had already been brought forward by Sergi.[1]

In every country of civilized Europe and America, at dinners, dances, and similar social functions, women of the well-to-do and wealthy classes appear in low-cut dress. Arms, shoulders and frequently the breasts to just above the nipples, technically known by society as "the neck," are freely displayed to all beholders. Neither the women themselves nor their male companions find anything immoral or repellant in such physical display, even in the case of young girls. On the contrary, the appearance at a ball of a woman in a high-cut dress is regarded by the host as a breach of good manners.

The Psychology of Dress.—To fully understand this, the psychology of dress must be considered from two points of view: the object with which it is undertaken and the reflex action of dress on the wearer.

To more clearly define these propositions the history of dress will be divided into four epochs: first, the adornments of primitive man; second, the dress of ancient civilization down through the Roman Empire; third, the change in dress from the period of the Renaissance down to the present day; and fourth, dress in the New Democracy.

In a general way it may be stated that the object of a change of style, the making prominent of any portion of the body or its ornamentation, was to excite the attention and admiration of the opposite sex and allure them

[1] *Archivio di Psichiatria*, vol. xiii, 1892.

to matrimonial pursuit. Nature has done the same thing in the animal world, preëminently in the case of birds, with their gorgeous plumage and wonderful gifts of song. Here the male is the wooer.

Primitive man, exceeding woman in numbers, was obliged to be the wooer and the one to display all the arts of fascination in order to secure a wife; but from the patriarchal days, when woman began to be regarded as property, all of that was changed. The girl's father would then, according to the conventions of the time, place his daughter in the best marketable light, in order to secure the highest price possible for her.

Then came about a striking change in the matrimonial customs. Woman, by her excessive numbers and ever-increasing uselessness and extravagance, would seem to have become somewhat of a drug on the market; and the father instead of selling his daughter was obliged to buy her a husband, which remains the case at the present day. This condition was probably still more sharply accentuated by man's increasing unwillingness to put his head into the matrimonial noose.

A further increase in the extravagance of dress was caused by the desire of husbands and fathers to advertise their financial success by means of the rich dress and extravagant display of jewels of their wives and daughters. This initiated a sharp competition, which was imitated by the poorer classes.

Among primitive peoples it seems beyond doubt that men and women began to ornament, multilate, tattoo, and paint themselves, chiefly in order to attract the opposite sex, that they might court or be courted successfully. Thus the girls are painted when they arrive at puberty and both sexes are tattooed at this age.

It is generally considered that women are naturally

vainer and more addicted to dressing and decorating themselves than men. This certainly does not hold good for savage and barbarous peoples generally. Among many races the reverse is true. Speaking of the Crees, Mackenzie remarks, that "While the women are by no means inattentive to the decorations of their own persons, they appear to have a still greater degree of pride in attending to the appearance of the men, whose faces are painted with much more care than their own." In this connection it must be noted, as has already been stated, that among savages it is the man only that runs the risk of leading a single life.

From the naked body, ornaments were transferred to the clothing. The ornamentation worn about the waist or loins of many savage peoples appears to have been to make themselves more attractive to the opposite sex. In a state where all go nude, it must be so natural as to excite no comment, for what we see day after day makes no special impression on us. But when a man or a woman began to put on a bright-colored fringe, some gaudy feathers, a string of beads, a bundle of leaves, a piece of cloth, or a dazzling shell, this of course could not escape the attention of others. The scanty covering was bound to act as the most powerful attainable sexual attraction, hence the popularity of such garments in the savage world.

Woman's Dress and Adornments in Ancient Civilizations.—The looms of Babylonia were famous all the world over in the years of its ascendancy. The style of dress was in itself simple, variety being given by the colors and patterns. The materials used were either imported India muslin or manufactured locally, the latter being a rough woollen stuff. The female costume differed very little from that worn by the men. Much feminine in-

genuity was used in the ornamentation of their robes with fringes and patterns, according to the status and wealth of those wearing them. The boots were of soft leather, without heels, and were laced. Ornaments were worn by both men and women, but those of the latter were more numerous and took the form of bracelets, necklaces, anklets, and rings for the ears and fingers.

The dress of the Greeks, when at the height of their civilization, and that of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and ancient Romans was not essentially different, was also very simple. It often consisted of a simple garment, the tunic, which pleased the eye by the gracefulness of its drapery and at the same time was comfortable, by reason of its looseness. The garment was all of one piece, sometimes girdled more or less closely, but characterized by long lines from shoulder to toe.

The history of Greek costume is for the most part free of what is known as change of fashion, for the reason that the Greeks did not attempt to reconcile the two opposite principles of covering and at the same time displaying the figure; that is to say, of cutting the dress to fit the body.

The Greeks were animated by a passionate love of beauty, but it was in the human body that they saw the noblest form of earthly beauty. They did not confine their admiration to the face, it was the perfect and harmonious development of every part of the body that struck them with awe.

Greece was known as "the land of beautiful women," but their type of beauty was conditioned on perfect health. The beautiful woman was well proportioned in every limb and feature; it was the grace and harmony of every part that constituted beauty. Her height was regarded as an essential requisite. Helen was taller than

her companions. The commanding stature impressed the Greeks as being a near approach to the august form of the goddesses. Further, beauty was not confined to young girls. Helen was, in the eyes of the Greeks, as beautiful at forty or fifty as she was at twenty, and probably more attractive. The Homeric Greek admired the fully developed woman as much as the growing girl. A race of healthy, finely formed women is the natural antecedent to a race of men possessed of a high physical and intellectual organization.

The Greek representations of the female form, in which the ideal of beauty in women was carried to a height which later generations have never been able to approach, shows a perfect development not only of the features, but of every portion of the body. It was not only the beauty of the face, but the free play of the muscles and the graceful movements of the limbs that showed the grace and beauty of movement of Greek women. Nothing could have more accentuated this perfect physical beauty than their simple style of dress.

From the time of Pericles, the great European distinction between male and female dress consisted in the length of the skirt. Old men, priests, and officials were allowed the privilege of wearing long or women's skirts, and young girls were permitted to wear the short or man's skirt. Among the Romans this single garment, worn by both sexes, was called the toga.

When, however, the moral fiber of the Greeks grew lax, the courtesans set the fashions, and dress was used to display rather than to conceal the figure, and in order to make the hips more prominent, the waist was constricted by a many-layered belt. At the same time the use of cosmetics was introduced.

Subjugation by the Romans in the first centuries of

the Christian era was followed by a general conformity to their mode of dress, so that the Roman dress may be considered to have become European. From the end of the fifth century to the beginning of the seventeenth, it became the object of dress in both sexes not merely to clothe the person, but also to display the figure and adorn it.

The Renaissance.—In the sixteenth century a distinct separation between ancient and modern dress took place, and our present fashions took their origin from about that time. Two of the inventions of this time have made a lasting impression on the bodies, morals, and intellects of woman. First and most notable was the invention of the corset, by Catherine de Medici, which resembled in more than looks that instrument of torture, "the machine virgin" of the Inquisition. This corset was made of steel and was as inflexible as a suit of armor. During the forty years in which she ruled at court, a thirteen-inch waist measure became the accepted standard.

When traced to their original sources we find that all of these extremes of fashion were made to conceal some deformity of the figure, or to give a part of it undue prominence. So it was in the case of the corset, which was introduced when clothes were not wanted for the concealment of the body, but to make more prominent the curves and undulations of the figure.

The greatest handicap ever placed upon woman, preventing the normal development of her body and brain, were perfected by Catherine de Medici, who invented the corset, and Louis XIV, that vain little monarch, who invented the French heel, their molds being seemingly indelibly imprinted on all succeeding generations. The combination has simply spelled disaster for woman, and

it would take almost a miracle to eradicate their evil influence, for, as Darwin says: "In the fashion of dress man prefers what he is accustomed to seeing, and dislikes any very great deviations from the leading fashions."

Woman's Dress of the Present Day.—For the reason that the female of the species has so long been under the subjection of the male, the styles of female dress and adornments which have been adopted from age to age and are still in vogue, are largely the result of masculine taste. Woman's business in life has been to marry; at least it has been necessary for her in order to gain her support, and for this she had to win the favor of the opposite sex. She was therefore obliged to captivate the male by the seduction of her charms.

In the course of time, however, when man's activities became his main dependence and woman's person and personal behavior became more significant, especially in a state of society where she became dependent on man's activities, both ornament and modesty were largely transferred to her. Deprived of participation in commercial activities, and with no capital but her personal charms and wits, her sole aim in life came to be to make herself attractive, to charm the male. So she assumed a most aggressive attitude toward courtship, and dress became a competitive game with her, especially as she had the rather definite realization before her of what a dreadful thing it would be to become an "old maid."

When through man's economic and social organization and the male initiative she became dependent, and when in consequence he began to pick and choose with a degree of fastidiousness, and the less charming women were not married, and with the still further invidious distinction between the wed and the unwed, the desirably

wed and the undesirably wed, woman had to charm for her very life. The means of attraction which she employs are so highly elaborated and her technique is so finished that she is really more active in courtship than man. From Samson and Odysseus down, history and story recognize the ease and frequence with which a woman makes a fool of man. The male protective and sentimental attitude is indeed incompatible with resistance.

For all these thousands of years, when women have been dependent upon men not only for food and clothing, but for the luxuries of life as well, it is not singular that in this struggle for the manner of life to which they have been subjected, they should have adopted the styles of dress which would be most likely to secure to them the greatest amount of success. When we remember that the present ideas of becomingness and propriety in woman's apparel are the result of ages of sensuality and servitude, it is not remarkable that they are difficult to uproot, especially as so many of these most pernicious and health-destroying styles involve questions of female decorum, as understood by a sensualized age.

Havelock Ellis says: "Woman displays her nudity in the public ball-room altogether without shame; partly from esthetic motives, partly without fully understanding why she does it, to attract the male, to gain success in the contest for his favor and to please; and yet all the time owing to her lack of actual sexual experiences, she is commonly far more innocent than man. The woman thus attired is far from suspecting the influence exercised on the male by the sight of her bare bosom, unless indeed she has become aware of this by long experience in social life. It would be an unjust reproach to society women, to assume that they are aware that no small proportion of the young men who have been their partners in the

dance, visit prostitutes immediately afterward, to calm the excitement thus aroused. Beyond question girls are generally ignorant of the fact asserted by Vischer, and expressive of his own experience as a male, that their bare and throbbing bosoms seem to men to pulse against the very nerves of desire."

Not only do many students of sex problems assert with great emphasis that woman's dress is the responsible factor in much of the sexual immorality of men, but students in our large colleges and universities have declared that the dress of women made it very hard for them to be good. Women have themselves to blame for much of the existing situation, and it is believed that when women of intelligence and good standing have their attention called to the seriousness of the situation, they will come to realize their responsibility for abolishing the clothes that have such a demoralizing effect on both sexes.

Further, it is considered that this décolleté style of dress, as worn in the ball-room, accentuates the dangers of the dance, for it seems to be an accepted opinion among physiologists that dancing of any type that involves more or less closeness of contact between men and women, when dancing in couples, is likely to lead to sexual stimulation, that is frequently recognized as such by normal men, and a general excitement by most women.

Woman's Dress in the New Democracy.—From the facts already referred to, that woman dresses to please man and so to marry him, and that man dislikes any very great deviations from the leading fashions, it would take almost a miracle to revolutionize woman's present mode of dress, in spite of its well-known harmfulness, physically, mentally, morally, and racially. Besides, the constantly changing mode of dress and the compe-

titive, extravagant display on the part of women not only fritters away their time, but leads to pettiness of character and devours time and energies which should be expended on more serious pursuits. Finally, this extravagance in dress, which frequently exceeds the husband's income, very often leads to the divorce court.

In spite of all the just accusations against woman's dress and lack of dress, woman might have continued to lead her butterfly existence for succeeding centuries of time, with no more serious interest in life than adornment of the body and capture of the unwary male, had not the miracle happened! The Great War, by the supreme sacrifice of many millions of men, the very flower of their countries, will cause the purification and regeneration of our race. The great results must be moral and spiritual, for neither the men who live to come back to us nor the women who have toiled and offered up their all, having caught the vision will rest content until they have made our polyglot races into one united whole, fit to enjoy the unique privileges of this great land of Freedom.

Woman in her various activities at home and abroad, at once adopted various uniforms which were best adapted for the kind of work in which she was engaged. She has thus been freed of much of the danger attendant on the wearing of skirts, and in the face of this great peril men have come to approve of the common sense of her dress.

Two things may reasonably be predicted: women of all classes, having known the joy and privilege of work, will never go back to idleness; and having experienced the greater freedom of movement allowed by knickerbockers, will never again consent to have their legs swathed during working hours.

Such a similarity of uniform as is now seen in that

worn by our troops and, let us say, the women ambulance drivers, might well be standardized after the war for business use. This would have three very great advantages for the race: it would be democratic, it would be economic, and it would make for social purity. Up to this time such a uniform never could have been adopted because of convention, tradition, and public opinion, but after the war it is safe to prophesy, "old things have passed away and all things have become new." We will simply be reverting to the customs of ancient Greece in the similarity of costumes worn by the two sexes and may hope then to achieve some of the bodily and intellectual perfection attained by that great nation.

The Psychology of Courtship and Coquetry.—One finds the law of coquetry among most species of the slightest intelligence; the female at first refuses the amorous caresses, a useful practice which serves so well the purpose of selection, for invariably it results only in accentuating the desires and awakening latent or benumbed faculties. The second law of coquetry is the law of combat on the part of the male, so that a rival in the field always causes a greater stimulation of the desire for possession.

It is particularly among birds that the passion of love sparkles with the most force and poetry. To this influence is attributed the production of their offensive and defensive arms, ornaments, organs of song, as well as their courage; and the belligerent instincts among many of them and the coquetry of the females.

Audubon thus describes the loves of the lark: "One sees the male advancing with a slow and measured step, lashing his tail, extending it to the greatest size and then closing it, like the most brilliant young lady would close a fan. Their notes break forth more melodiously than ever; they repeat them more frequently while they re-

main on the branches or the summit of some great bush of the prairie. Unhappy for that one who dares to enter as a rival, or rather for that male who comes within sight of another at the actual moment of true delirium, he is suddenly attacked and if weaker, is chased from the territory which is then taken by the first combatant. Sometimes one sees several birds engaged in these rude combats, but rarely for more than two or three minutes. The appearance of a single female will suffice to terminate the quarrel and they all follow after her like madmen. The females give proof of the natural reserve of their sex, without which, even among the larks, every female would probably remain without finding a mate; for it is a little too flattering for the animal, and even for man. When this one flies towards her, in sighing out his sweetest notes, she flies away in an admirable manner, so that it is hard to tell if it is to repulse or to encourage.

"This little tableau portrays all of the salient traits of the love of birds; the courage and the jealousy of the male, his combat with his rivals, his efforts to charm the female by his beauty and the sweetness of his song; finally the coquetry of the female, which by withdrawing, adds fuel to the flame. But it is especially the female who introduces into love the individual fantasy. They are subject to aversions and to singular sympathy for certain males, refusing the caresses of others. At bottom the love of animals does not differ from the love of man."

Early in human progress we find that courtship involved something more than mere acts of strength on the part of the male, and it is not only in civilized countries that it means a prolonged love-making. We are so prone to forget that we are the product of the great stream of life, carried down to us by the germ-plasm of

cons of time, and that the great racial qualities are the common property of all. Among women of the savage races, the greatest attention and the most fervent solicitations are sometimes requisite, even though there be no other lover in the way. This sometimes happens from a spirit of coquetry, sometimes from a dislike for the man, and his failure to come up to the woman's standard or mental type of what her husband should be.

Darwin has shown that among the lower vertebrates the female commonly gives preference to the most vigorous, defiant, mettlesome male; a similar appreciation of manly courage is found in women. Spencer maintains that mental and facial perfections are fundamentally connected and that the aspects which please are the outward correlatives of inward perfections, while the aspects which displease are the outward correlatives of inward imperfections.

It has already been noted that throughout nature the male seeks the female, though woman's need of reproduction is greater and celibacy unquestionably impresses the character of woman more deeply than that of man. We must also recognize the fact that reproductive life must be connected with violent stimulation or it would be neglected, and the species would become extinct. On the other hand, if the conquest of the female were too easy, sexual life would be in danger of becoming a play interest and a dissipation, destructive of energy and fatal to the species.

Coquetry is the corollary of courtship; it may be said to be a secondary female characteristic in sexual selection, in order to give the female who has done so much to raise the standard of the species time to study her wooer; to see if indeed he possess those qualities of heart and mind which she desires in a husband, and those charac-

teristics which she would gladly have transmitted to her children. Woman is cooler and perhaps more calculating in the art of love than is man, she is not so apt to allow her heart to run away with her head, but if she is a woman of the right stamp, a thoroughbred, having once made up her mind she will play the game squarely. If her judgment has misled her, she will face the consequences gamely and do her best to make a good running mate. Ancestry always tells on both sides.

Flirtation.—Coquetry, as we have seen, is an indirect, psychic irradiation of love; but there is another form in which the art of love is largely practiced, especially in England and America—the form of flirtation. In its elementary manifestations, flirting is entirely natural and normal; we may trace it even in animals. It is simply the beginning of courtship at an early stage when courtship may be broken off. As a momentary and transient expression of all of the necessities of love, flirtation has the right to exist; but under modern civilized conditions, flirtation is often more than this. Here, instead of being the mere preliminary stage of normal courtship, it is developed into a form of sexual gratification, as we have seen elsewhere, as complete as a due observance of the conditions will allow. In France this form of flirtation is held in great abhorrence as being highly immoral.

CHAPTER X

PROBLEMS OF BETROTHAL

Choosing a Life Mate: (1) *Both Parties to the Contract Must be Economically Independent;* (2) *they Must Belong to the Same Social Class, with Similar Interests and Temperamentally Adapted to Each Other; Woman's Dual Nature and Marriage; the Ideal Age for Marriage;* (3) *an Interchange of Health Certificates before Betrothal;* (4) *a Mutual Understanding of the Sexual Ethics of Marriage; the Safeguarding of Maidenhood; Betrothal and Marriage; Breach of Promise and Marriage Portions in the New England Colonies; the Custom Underlying the Principle of Demanding a Dowry with the Bride; Trial Betrothals versus Breach of Promise Cases.*

Marriage is too grave a step to take lightly and without serious reflexion. Before marriage says Wisdom regard well what you are about to do, for as the Spanish proverb forcibly puts it, "that day will be either your salvation or your ruin." The happiness or misery will in effect depend on whether you marry wisely or unwisely. One cannot deny the importance of choosing with the greatest care, the person with whom you are going to pass the remainder of your life, under the same conjugal yoke. Fortunately there are well-known data based on experience and observation, as well as the more recent scientific facts for the guidance of all in this matter.

Choosing a Life Mate.—Among the higher animals and primitive man, the male does the courting and to the female is accorded the power of selection; this is in accordance with the biology of sex. At the present day it would be more in accordance with the truth to say

that the woman does the courting and to the man has fallen the lot of selection.

The problem of the selection of a life mate is probably the most vital one that either man or woman will ever have to face. All of the problems of life which have preceded this, however important as to the mode of education or the choosing of a vocation in life, have been purely individualistic, and if they proved uncongenial could be changed. In the question of the marriage partnership there are not merely dual interests to be considered, but even a more serious problem is that concerning the interests of the future progeny; and it is for this reason that the State, as the guardian of the race, has to be taken into consideration in making this contract.

How are two people, a young man and a young woman, who a short time ago were total strangers to each other and now, by the mere accident of propinquity are considering being bound together by the yoke of wedlock for life, going to decide whether this step, which is to affect all of their future is a wise one.

The first point to be considered is that, not being blood relations, with the same strains of ancestry flowing through their veins, which makes parents tolerant of the waywardness of their children, children tolerant of the foibles of the "old folks," and brothers and sisters, in spite of their feuds, loyal to death through all adversity, marriage does not withstand the strains of domestic feuds as the family does. Each one leaves the bond more or less impaired, until finally *one* marriage in every *twelve* breaks down in the divorce court. The cause of the vast majority of unhappy marriages is the rashness or the base motives with which they are entered into.

The basic question to be considered is whether these

young people are physically, morally, socially, intellectually, and spiritually, real affinities, whose two lives, blended together in marriage, will develop into one perfect whole. The institution of marriage is one of the most complex, most perplexing, and least understood of all the vital questions of the day. It is second only to life itself, yet it is treated with the same banality with which we speak of gravitation, as immutable, unchangeable, only, unlike gravitation, to be terminated at the pleasure of either or both of the contracting parties.

When affection comes to play a more important part in sexual selection, more regard will be paid to the intellectual, moral, and emotional qualities, through which the feeling is chiefly provoked, and the preference given to these higher qualities by civilized man will contribute much to the intellectual improvement of the race.

The foundation on which durable love, already treated of from the psychologic point of view, and therefore happy marriages are based, is very complex; but there are certain well-known fundamental principles which must be securely laid down in advance if the union is to last until death. These principles involve not only the interests of the husband and wife, but also those of the progeny. (1) Both parties to the contract must be economically independent and there must be a definite understanding as to the amount of the financial budget. (2) They must belong to the same social class, with similar interests, religious beliefs, of suitable age and temperamentally adapted to each other. (3) Before permitting a betrothal there should be an interchange of health certificates, from a state medical examiner. (4) The man and woman should have a clear understanding as to their views of the sexual relation in marriage. (5) It must be an assured fact that both have the strength

of character to keep the lower element of their dual natures under sharp control. This will consist chiefly of marital fidelity on the part of the husband and absolute rectitude in every respect on the part of the wife. (6) They must have similar views in regard to their prospective progeny.

It will be seen from a subsequent consideration of marriage that these problems form the great danger zones in which so many marriages are shipwrecked.

1. Both Parties to the Contract Must be Economically Independent.—Celibacy we have already seen is neither natural nor desirable, and a happy marriage should be the goal of every man's and every woman's desire. The economic situation which prevents so many young people from marrying until near the thirties is thoroughly unwholesome and must in some way be remedied. Marriage in the early twenties is not only a safeguard against unchastity, but is physiologically better for the woman and her children. At this age young people are both morally and mentally more plastic, more likely to grow together, and more easily make the little compromises and adjustments which the fusing of two lives always necessitates. It is an infinite pity that those two who are to be comrades for life should fail to have those years in some ways the best of life, together.

A man who desires to satisfy his amatory needs in marriage is confronted with the social conditions; he must first ask himself the question whether he can afford to support a wife and family. Thousands of young men in the middle classes do not fill an independent position which satisfies their notions until comparatively late in life. They are unable to support a wife "as becomes their station," unless she have property of her own. Many young women who endeavor to catch a husband

by external attractions have, by the time they have succeeded in their quest, become so accustomed to outward show, expensive entertainments and amusements, that the lack of them after marriage so dissatisfies them with their comparatively simple ménage, as to eventually lead them to marital infidelity. Thus men often feel that they are walking on the brink of a precipice and many prefer to leave unplucked a flower which is only to be reached at the risk of their neck. So they go on their way alone and seek recreation and enjoyment without restraint to their liberties.

This situation can only be met by both parties laying their cards on the table. It may be fairly met in one of several ways. The woman should have an income equal to the man's earning capacity, or she should herself have an independent vocation, so that the banking of the two will suffice for the domestic budget; or, finally, she should be a thoroughly trained housekeeper, so that she has a real earning capacity as such. There must be no doubt as to just what the amount of the domestic budget is to be and how it is to be met, before any betrothal takes place. This scheme may seem to lovers very prosaic and sordid, but high finance in early marriage is the frequent grave of love.

We have seen that the most normal lives are lead by the peasant classes, because of economic conditions as they exist there. They begin life young, with comparatively nothing, but their wants are few and they adapt their manner of life to their incomes. This is the kernel of the entire matter, and here we find the solution of the economic situation which confronts the whole civilized world.

2. They Must Belong to the Same Social Class, with Similar Interests and Temperamentally Adapted to Each Other, etc.—In marriage as in companionship there

must be an equality of age, of social condition, of fortune, of education, of character, and of sympathy. If the married couple are not well fitted for each other, one or the other suffers, often both, as from all unequal unions. Take for your wife the woman you would choose as your friend, were she a man; for the worst consequences are to be feared from a union which is not cemented by mutual sympathy and reciprocal esteem. One can only argue their results from hastily concluded marriages or those made for financial considerations or position, without considering the tastes, inclinations, character, or ancestors of the contracting parties.

It is impossible for a woman with a meager physical development and crippled mental faculties, imprisoned in the narrowest circles of opinions and condemned to exclusive intercourse with her nearest female friends, to rise above the banalities of every-day life. Her mental horizon is bounded by the most trivial household concerns, the affairs of relations, and similar topics of interest. Her mind demands activity and exercise, and her husband, whom she often compromises or drives to the brink of despair, abuses and execrates defects for which he has been principally to blame.

When we remember that these evils have been in existence and in action for many hundreds of generations, we shall not be surprised that the natural law of heredity and adaptation have at length reached the extreme development in which they present themselves to-day.

Man has, as a rule, through all the ages sought his friendships among men, because he thought they alone could understand his intellectual needs, his business activities, and his creative aspirations. So when he sought a wife, it was a woman who would bear him

healthy children and in general minister to the wants of his lower nature. He would then naturally seek a woman who was still young, beautiful, dependent and fawning.

On the other hand, and this is still the general rule, the average man would naturally avoid an intellectual woman, who was economically independent, and who possessed the very intellectual qualities which he had been taught were essential for the male in life; namely, business integrity, truthfulness, and straightforwardness. Indeed, he would seem to regard these qualities in woman as rather brazen, and above all things he could not endure in his wife the tendency to be "strong-minded." This type of girl was all right if she happened to be his sister or a girl chum he had known from childhood, but as a sweetheart or a wife, never!

Being in quest of a mate, probably he has not given the intellectual type of girl so much as a single thought, unless it has been to deplore the fact that such an otherwise nice girl should have been spoiled for making some man a good wife. So he has in mind some pretty, docile, and deferential young girl, for the cave man and patriarchy are still in vogue, with limitations to be sure, but these types are just as certainly fixed in the minds of men as they ever were.

The lack of intelligence with which men, whom one would suppose are not without experience, select as a mate a woman who, however fine and charming she may be, possesses none of those qualities which her wooer really craves, is a perpetual marvel. To refrain from testing and proving the qualities of a woman whom he desires for a mate is no doubt an amiable trait of humility on the part of the lover, but it is certain that a man should never be content with anything less than the

best which woman's soul and body have to give, however unworthy he may feel of such a possession. This demand, it must be remembered, is in the highest interest of the woman herself. A woman can offer to a man what is a part, at all events, of the secret of the universe; the woman degrades herself who sinks to the level of a candidate for an asylum for the destitute.

Woman's Dual Nature and Marriage.—At the present-day women in their relation to marriage may be roughly divided into three classes: (*a*) The great mass of women who are economically dependent and whose sole vocation is marriage. These women are dominated by the lower and baser traits of their dual nature. (*b*) A very high-grade class of women who belong to good families and have been culturally but not economically educated; in this class the highest emotional and sometimes intellectual traits prevail. (*c*) A very much smaller, highly educated, and economically independent class of women, who have been intellectually educated along the same lines of business integrity, truthfulness and straightforwardness as characterizes the education of men.

a. The Economically Dependent Women Whose Sole Vocation is Marriage.—As a direct result of woman's economic dependence she has become intellectually stunted, and her worst adventitious traits have been intensified by her sex slavery, whether in marriage or out of it.

The mother has always been the natural matrimonial agent of her daughters, and has been shaping them to fill the current demands of the market, whatever they might be. In visiting the matrimonial market her business has been to make the best possible trade for them, so she hides her daughters' defects of body and mind, seeking for them wealth and a fixed social position; these are the two *sine qua nons* for a successful suitor.

Society has never greatly inquired into a man's private life.

The woman's face is the screen which hides her soul; it is in the inner sanctum of her soul that she decides on what plane she will place herself in the great marriage mart of the world: "for select, high custom;" "moderately for the general trade," or "at so much off for shop and factory flaws."

"Longing from the day of her birth for love, she spends her life in the endless effort to find it, little guessing sometimes that it the most obvious thing man has to offer her. So with color and scent and silken sheen she makes a lure of her body; with cunning artifices she makes temptations with her hands and face and weaves it with her hair. She flatters, pleads, cajoles; denies only that she may yield, sets free in order to summon back, and calls so that when he answers she may preserve a mystifying silence.

"She affects a thousand arts which in her heart she despises; pretends to housewifery which she hates, forcing herself to play music though she has no gift for it, and chatters glibly of independence, when she has none at all.

"In making herself all things to all men she loses her individuality and becomes no more than a harp, which any passing hand may strike to quick response. To one man she is a sage, to another an incarnate temptation, to another a sensible business-like person, to another a frothy bit of frivolity. To one man she is the guardian of his ideals, to another she is a 'good fellow, with a discriminating taste in cigarettes and champagne.'

"Let a man ask what he will and woman will give it, praying only that somewhere she will come upon love. She adapts herself to man as water adapts itself to the shape of the vessel in which it is placed. She dare not

assert herself to be herself, lest in some way she should lose her grasp on the counterfeit which largely takes the place of love. . . . With tears in her eyes and her throat raw, she will choke upon the assertion that she likes smoke; and she will assuage passion when his slightest touch makes her shudder and turn cold.

"And most pitiful of all, when blinded by her own senses she will surrender the last citadel of her womanhood to him who comes a wooing, undismayed by the women around her, whose sacred altars have been profaned and left bare . . . She believes him till the day of realization dawns upon her, when broken and bitter hearted she has scarcely a friend in the world, and not even the compensating coin, thriftily demanded by her sister of the streets."*

b. The High-grade Women, Culturally Educated but Economically Dependent.—There is a very much smaller class of a vastly higher grade women, whose highest emotional natures have been cultivated, daughters of the well-to-do, who have inherited from the intellectual aristocracy of this country a desire for usefulness. These women are the joy and comfort of their own families and their altruistic tendencies fill their time with good works. Like the women of the intellectual class, they have made a vocation of work and know nothing of the art of love-making; besides they would scorn to stoop to the low cunning of the women of the first class.

They place a high estimate on love and marriage; from their manner of life their first instinct is to love some one else, and the desire to be loved in return comes only later. Again, being unsophisticated, this woman wants man to love her before she has done anything to develop his love. The heart-breaking tragedy is that, less

* Myrtle Reed: "The Master of the Vineyard."

materialistic than man and more finely grained, she aspires to things that are often out of his reach. Failing in her aspirations, confused in the effort to distinguish the false from the true, she blindly clutches at the counterfeit. Another cause of this woman's unhappiness in love and marriage is that she believes that she intuitively knows whether she can trust and love a man; this is based on a false assumption of premises, since for the most part she is wholly ignorant of the forces dominating man.

Man too, though more rarely, guesses that the impenetrable beauty of the soul is above the fog of sense and not in it, searching hopefully at first, then despairingly and finally offering the counterfeit to the living lie who is waiting for it with eager, outstretched hands.

It is not that at bottom woman is so essentially different from man, but that she was born into a man's world, and has been obliged to conform to his laws and the traditions and customs of her sex. So it has happened that to woman, love has been a vocation; to man it has been a pastime.

c. The Highly Educated and Economically Independent. —Here is where the women of the economically independent classes have the advantage; marriage becomes to them as it is to man, a question of bettering their spinster condition. This class of women are more influenced by the consideration of the type of children which they may procreate, and so demand that the man's life must match their own in cleanness of living; that he be mentally, morally, and economically their equal. While the proportion of marriages in this class is very much smaller than in the two preceding, divorces are also vastly much more rare. They are older when they marry, so their judgment is better; and economic conditions do not force them into matrimony as a means of livelihood.

The Ideal Age for Marriage.—This problem must be considered from three points of view: (1) The psychologic or the temperamental plasticity of the parents; (2) from the effect of maternity on the mother's health; and (3) the effect of age on the vitality and mortality of the children.

1. *The Psychologic or Temperamental Adaptability of the Parents.*—Convention in regard to the ideal age for marriage has varied greatly at different times; it has been said that the age for marriage has advanced with increasing civilization. That statement is only approximately correct. Plato counsels the man to marry between the ages of 25 and 33; and for the woman 26. This is slightly older than science counsels to-day; it is now considered that the ideal age for both man and woman is from 23 to 26 years. They may be of the same age or the man may be two to three years older, and under no case more than five years the girl's senior. Under no circumstances should the girl be the older of the two.

Arrived at this age, the intelligence of both man and woman will be better developed and their judgment should be better able to recognize and appreciate nobility of character, harmony of interests, mutual sympathy, the nature of the marriage bond, and the part that heredity is going to play in the formation or the wreckage of their children's lives.

The physical, mental, and moral adaptability of both man and woman at this period are evidenced to a high degree, and it is an age which is responsive to the institution of marriage. Their detrimental hereditary traits of body and mind have at this time either become very marked or have assumed a dormant form. They have now acquired the temperamental traits, which, with few modifications, they will retain throughout life; that

is to say the foundations of their characters for good or evil have been very thoroughly laid. At the same time the mind is open and responsive to reason, and there is always a willingness to make readjustments on this basis. Temperamentally they are plastic, and under favorable conditions there will result a degree of sympathy that bespeaks future harmony and a happy marriage.

This plasticity of temperament is fundamental to the happiness of any marriage. There can be no mutual happiness in marriage if one of the participants is temperamentally incapable of changing his or her convictions. One of the fundamental essentials to happiness in life or peace in the home is the quality of adaptability to circumstances; no other virtue will be called into play oftener than this one. At this age a man is eager to contribute to the contentment and happiness of his partner, even if it is necessary to sacrifice his own whims and opinions; and a woman at this age is so constituted that she will respond to the same impulses.

Incompatibility of temperament simply implies that two individuals are so constituted that they cannot or will not adapt themselves to the characteristics of each other. This is one of the most prolific causes of unhappy marriages and divorce. Age is an all-important factor in the situation. Men much over thirty have unconsciously developed habits of judgment and are too set in their opinions and ways to accommodate themselves easily, or without friction, to the temperamental differences that will undoubtedly exist in their wives. The age of adaptability has gone by, and a mental readjustment is scarcely to be expected. There can never be the same spirit of "camaraderie" that develops at an earlier age, and at best we find a spirit of

friendship rather than companionship. Statistics prove that "affinities" creep into the loves of those who marry very early or after thirty.

2. *Youthful Marriages are Followed by a Higher Mortality of Women.*—No woman has the vitality to stand the strain of marriage before the twenty-third year. Pregnancy is a great drain on the system and lactation is a still greater one, and she cannot yet properly play the rôle of wife or mother, because in pregnancy she runs the risk of giving to the child the nourishment which she herself needs to complete her development. She is also more liable to miscarriage.

A girl of eighteen or twenty has not yet reached the period of growth where certain inherited tendencies will show. If she has inherited a predisposition to tuberculosis, she may outgrow it, provided she is allowed to reach her full development without submitting herself to any undue physical or mental strain. Marriage and maternity would, however, be very likely to weaken her to such an extent that her inherited tendencies would become active; whereas, if she had remained single until a later period of life, she might have escaped their evil consequences.

The idea was long prevalent that early marriage would prevent youth from sowing his "wild oats." The idea that by marriage a woman can reform the inborn characteristics of her husband is a very grave mistake; the woman who is the victim of this delusion will reap a harvest of misery. Any man who needs the sacrifice of a woman to cultivate the art of self-control is not fit to be a citizen, much less a husband and father. A man who is willing to bring children into the world before he is a self-governed animal, does not understand the first principles of race regeneration.

3. *The Effect of Age on the Vitality and Mortality of Children.*—The mortality of children is much greater in early marriages, as the first-born are apt to be sickly, because the mother is not sufficiently mature. If a girl marries at the age of eighteen, she gives to the world children totally unfit to struggle with its problems. At the age of twenty-two she may give one child of value to the world, but all the others following will be increasingly unfit. In early marriages children are apt to come too frequently; this is one of the causes of infant mortality. Statistics show that children born with only one year between them have a mortality 100 per cent. higher than those born with two years between them. If these children are the progeny of very young mothers the percentage is even greater, as is also the percentage of children who are malformed or idiotic. It has been shown that the child can inherit only what the parents possess. If the parents are not at the age when all of their powers are at the highest, the child is robbed of just this amount of force, and no amount of education or training can make it good.

Quite aside from the physical advantages, as regards both mother and child, the age given is a great advantage for the child, because at this age a mother can devote herself intelligently, sympathetically, and unreservedly to its interests, whereas middle-aged women who turn to motherhood have lost their youth and mental flexibilities, and become settled in other grooves. For the sake of the woman herself, it would be well if she could bring her child-bearing to an end at the age of thirty-five years, to enable her to enter upon the wide activities of the world for which she has been fitted. Sterility means the inability to become a parent. It is stated that one out of every eight marriages is barren, and that in about

one out of every six cases it is due to sterility of the husband. This is often the cause of unhappiness so great as to end in divorce.

The average time which elapses between marriage and the birth of the first child is seventeen months; if a woman goes for three years after marriage without having a child the chances are that she never will have one. After thirty years in women and thirty-five years in men, it seems probable that the best conditions for procreation begin to decline.

The Disadvantages of Late Marriages.—Late marriages are of serious consequences for the mother; she is then exposed to the great risk of abortion by the growing inextensibility of the uterus. Because of the greater fixation of the articulations and of the pelvic bones, delivery is very much more difficult and dangerous, and the lying-in is more prolonged and serious.

On the part of the children, risks in childbirth are much greater, owing to the fact that the bones of the cranium are harder, and frequently the sutures which normally allow for the overlapping of the bones during labor have become partially or completely ossified, so that the child can only be born by the use of forceps. The greater pressure necessary to effect this is often fatal to the child.

Those children who survive childbirth and the early years of infancy are exposed to rickets and frequently die from tuberculosis, although their parents were free from this disease. The children of late marriages are apt to be eccentric, feeble-minded, and sickly; they also lack the vivacity and gaiety natural to their age, and have the appearance of wizened old men and women. They rarely acquire a robust development and are exposed to disturbances of the circulatory system.

Further, Havelock Ellis says of late marriages: "By increasing the age of the preconjugal life of the male, we would increase the dangers of the coming generation, partly on account of their greater age, and partly on account of the greater prevalence among them of venereal diseases, which would result in the procreation of sickly and enfeebled offspring. There would also be increased masculine exploitation of a certain portion of the feminine world, with a resulting increase of the number of illegitimate children."

A further consequence would be a decline in the intellectual relationship between the father and children, and even to-day there is a great gulf fixed between them. Each generation speaks a different language from the preceding one, whereby mutual understanding between the coming and passing generations is rendered difficult and sometimes impossible; so that there is no real friendship between the two. It is evident that the further increase of age between parents and children could not fail to widen the chasm by which they are already separated.

Again, by deferred marriage there would be increased difficulties in the way of education of the children, which even to-day leaves much to be desired. This is because of the father's professional activities, which commonly keep him away from his home a great deal of the time, while he is apt to pass his leisure hours elsewhere than in the bosom of his family. By far more fatal to the interests of the child would be the increased probability of the father's death before he reached maturity, thus removing not only his material help but the invaluable guidance of his experience.

There is no doubt that the later marriages of the educated classes are the most detrimental to the race, be-

cause these are the very people who have acquired great self-mastery and possess those very characteristics which are so essential to the progress of the race.

Finally, because of the fixed habits of mind and temperament, there is a much greater inflexibility of adaptability, so unhappy marriages would be more frequent.

The Ethical and Physiologic Disadvantages of Disproportion of Age.—Men whose marriage has for economic or other reasons been deferred until they are forty years of age or more, for the most part marry for the procreation of children and to perpetuate the family name. As a rule, they choose young women less than half their age for wives, partly for the reasons above given and partly owing to the universal masculine tendency to desire in their wives the freshness of youth and beauty. There is also the additional reason of the revitalizing influence of young women, physiologically as well as psychologically, on elderly men.

When a bachelor of fifty marries a girl of twenty-five or thirty, it is fair to assume that her chief interest in making the match is financial or the social position which he is able to give her. The young wives of these men, owing to the comparative age of their husbands, would find in them neither the physiologic freshness of the lover nor the psychologic freshness of the comrade, which at their age they have every right to expect. As for a still younger girl marrying anyone so much older than herself, the very idea is abhorrent as being revolting to nature, and the average normal girl would not do it.

There would result for light-minded young women, in view of their frequent contacts with other men much younger than their husbands and therefore excelling these in physical and psychologic attractions, allure-

ments to infidelity. The young wife of an aging husband is the natural prey of the enterprising woman-hunter.

Perhaps because of convention we are much less accustomed to see a young man wed a woman many years his senior; it is recognized by society as being even more unnatural. The clearly recognized basis of the marriage is the woman's wealth, and the type of man who does such a thing is very generally despised. The woman who allows herself to enter on any such unnatural alliance must know in advance that she will be neglected and scorned, while her young husband rapidly dissipates her fortune.

3. An Interchange of Health Certificates before Betrothal.—The ordinary man takes very little forethought of the day of his marriage, the result of the manner of his sexual life upon himself, his future wife, and his possible children. Forgetting every consideration of morality and prudence, he leaves to chance that act of his life which ought to be the most particular subject of his attention; and he creates at a venture a new stock of vices, virtues, maladies, and deformities.

The future health of their children, the care and forethought of their children's children, so essential to the happiness of marriage and the family, the matter of heredity; all those most essential points which would be so seriously considered in the breeding of blooded stock, are considered too delicate subjects to be talked about before marriage.

On proposal of marriage the girl's father usually inquires about his future son-in-law's business, the income on which he proposes to support his wife, and inquiries are made about his business integrity, but it has not yet become the custom to demand a certificate of health, including that of heredity and freedom from venereal diseases, from a state official appointed for that

purpose. From this source, as we have already seen, result so many sterile unions, separations, and divorces. So often on the wedding night are sown the germs of disease, illness, and death.

Not only in the case of the man, but in the case of the girl also, is a medical certificate of the highest importance. After marriage men not infrequently, and with justice, complain that their wives have concealed some grave bodily defect or malady from their knowledge.

Lest anyone should consider this a startling innovation of the twentieth century, he has only to refer to Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," written in the sixteenth century.

The plan suggested was to overcome deceptions practised by both the man and the woman. "Before marriage a staid and honest matron showeth the woman, be she maid or widow, naked to the wooer. And likewise a sage and discreet man, exhibits the wooer naked to the woman. On buying a horse or colt, in spite of the fact that he is almost bare, yet will not men buy him unless the saddle and all the harness be removed; lest under these coverings be hidden some sore or gall. And yet in choosing a wife, which shall be either a pleasure or displeasure for all the rest of their lives, they are so reckless that they estimate her by scarcely so much as one hand's breadth; for they can see no more than her face and so join her to them not without great jeopardy, if anything in her body should afterward chance to mislike them; so foul deformity may hide under these coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away a man's mind from his wife, when it shall not be lawful for their bodies to be separate again But it were well done if a law were made whereby all such deceit were eschewed beforehand."

In the twentieth century science declares the necessity for a thorough medical examination, on which a medical certificate for marriage should be based. Since something like 66 per cent. of young women suffer from some form of pelvic trouble, some of them trifling in themselves, but in the nature of congestion and inflammation, for which marital relations will be as the setting of a match to gunpowder. To the wife this causes great, needless suffering, and very often the marriage relations become hateful because of it. On the other hand it is not just to the young husband that he should begin his wedded life with large doctor's bills for maladies which existed before marriage and were then often easily curable.

The trend of the law is to render marriage indissoluble; it should therefore, before the issuing of the marriage license, demand a physician's certificate, giving a clean bill of health for both parties. In giving birth to children the parents transmit not only their physical condition, and more or less of their energy and endurance, but also their psychologic and moral forces. It is therefore of the highest importance for the family and the state that all of these vital questions should be thoroughly investigated before marriage.

4. A Mutual Understanding as to the Sexual Ethics of Marriage.—Before marriage young girls should be enlightened by their mothers, or a woman physician, as to the nature of sexual intercourse and its consequences. Many young married women have declared that it is nothing less than criminal to allow young girls to enter into the marriage relation in total ignorance of this subject, and aver that they themselves were simply terrified and often repelled by their first experiences of marital life. It is another of our atavistic characteristics that we consider it improper for a young girl to know

anything the day before marriage, of the practical and in many ways trying experience which she is going to undergo the following day.

A further result of our ultra-prudishness is, that, without having had any experience of a sexual orgasm, a normal girl is not in a position to decide whether the idea of coitus with a man for whom she feels affection is repugnant to her or not. Women who are sexually cold, and have a horror of coitus except for procreation, cannot be regarded as normal types of wives nor expect their husbands to abstain from sexual intercourse except for that purpose.

Before betrothal a man and woman should have a clear understanding as to their views on all subjects pertaining to marital ethics. This would prevent all misunderstandings on a subject that is a frequent cause of such unhappiness to both parties and is an open door to the divorce court.

Marriage as a Magic Spell.—The truth which people seem to overlook in this matter is that the marriage ceremony is quite useless as a magic spell for changing in an instant the nature of the relation of two human beings to one another. A man may marry a woman after a month's acquaintance, and the day after meet a woman whom he has known all his life, finding sometimes, to his own irrational surprise and his wife's equally irrational indignation, that his wife is a stranger to him and the other woman is an old friend.

Few realize the extent to which we assume that marriage is the shortcut to perfect and permanent intimacy and affection; further, that the specific relation which marriage authorizes between the parties is the most intimate and personal of human relations, embracing all the highest of these. This is absolutely untrue. The

fact remains that the most disastrous marriages are those founded exclusively on love, and some of the most successful ones those founded on congenial habits, tastes, liking, and respect, love having been least considered.

In the past it has been necessary for a woman without money to be sexually attractive, because she was obliged to get married as a means of securing a livelihood. The illusion of sexual attraction, as we have seen, causes the young man to endow her with every accomplishment and virtue which makes a wife a treasure, the attraction being thus consciously used as a bait by individuals and society.

Nothing can be more unwholesome for everybody than the exaggeration and glorification of a function which clouds the reason and upsets the judgment more than all the other instincts put together. The process may be pleasant and romantic, but the consequences are not. It would be far better and more honest if young people were taught that what they call love is an appetite which, like all other appetites, is destroyed for the moment by its gratification, and that it should be held to be an act of prostitution to make marriage an open trade in sexual gratification as it is at present, with money, board, lodging, and personal slavery thrown in. No husband ever secured his domestic happiness and honor, nor has any wife secured hers, by relying alone on it.

Marriage has been subject to evolution in various ways, the dominant tendency of this process in its later stages has been the extent of the wife's rights. A wife is no longer the property of her husband, and according to our modern ideas, marriage is a contract of perfect equality between the sexes.

The trouble has been that the truly worthy young girl has seldom looked ahead for twenty years or tried to visualize what her life will be then, and what kind of

children she is likely to bear, because of inherited traits from their father. So perhaps for some traditional scruple she gives a man up when she could have held him, when he has been really tricked into an engagement with a girl in every way unworthy of him.

Every young woman should insist that the young man who will be her companion and mate for life should bring to the marriage altar the same chastity of body and mind which she herself brings.

The highest form of love is service, and so it should be in mating, the altruistic desire to serve the loved one; not the material return to be had out of it. It is the grave duty of young men and women toward their prospective children and the community to consider how they can best endow these children with the noblest heritage of a pure stream of life, sound health, and proper environment.

Dualism of Woman in Primary Sexual Love.—Before the first sexual embrace, woman is, for a number of reasons, at the same time desirous and timid. There is the shame in having to bare portions of her body which she has hitherto carefully concealed. There is the indecision dependent upon the conflict between the desire for sexual enjoyment and the fear of its consequences. There is the element of advance and withdrawal; the amorous sportiveness, which we have studied in the life of the higher animals, thus retarding the final enjoyment, which is thereby rendered sweeter and more profound; in a word, erotic coquetry. Automatic passivity is the greatest enemy to desire and the tomb of many marriages; whereas the feminine art which flees in order to invite pursuit, refuses and then yields, and even refuses as an act of yielding, provides an increased stimulus to the refined nervous susceptibility of the

male, consequently rendering what we call love more enduring.

In young girls love is a mixture of exalted admiration for masculine courage and grandeur and an ardent desire for affection and maternity. This sentimentalism of the young girl, joined to the passive rôle of her sex, produces in her a state of exaltation which often borders on ecstasy, overcoming all the resistance of will and reason. The woman surrenders herself to the man of whom she is enamored or who has conquered or hypnotized her. She is vanquished by his embraces, following him submissively; in such a state of mind she is capable of any folly.

The reluctance and dual-mindedness of the majority girls in their first experiences in the intimacies of love are, as we have seen, the outcome of serious motives. These feminine tendencies are explicable in the fullest sense of the term; none the less they represent one of the most dangerous phenomena of the relations of the sexes. They are dangerous to the woman, owing to the fact that men are, as a rule, firmly convinced that they need merely to pursue their own ends, without consideration or scruples of conscience, in order to attain what they themselves desire, the act of possession; but, at the same time, despite all appearances to the contrary, to satisfy the concealed but most earnest desire of the woman thus possessed. Such Don Juans pass from conquest to conquest; from seduction to seduction, without shrinking on occasions from the use of personal violence.

This dualism of woman in her first experience of sexual life is no less dangerous to men. For the lover in individual cases it is difficult if not impossible to decide whether the girl's resistance to his wishes is simulated or sincere; whether her flight is indeed signifi-

cant of refusal or whether it really indicates a delicate form of excitement; whether the use of a certain degree of violence will arouse the most ardent passion of love or the most furious anger.

"But," continues Michelis, "as a general rule the relations of the two young people prior to the offense were by no means on a purely Platonic plane. From secret loving glances to the assignation and the intimate amorous caress, they have to their mutual satisfaction traversed the whole *via voluptatis*. At length they have arrived at its culmination. The man's erotic tension has reached its extremest tension, and he therefore suddenly demands complete possession. In other words he has arrived at the natural conclusion of all that went before.

"But at this point the girl hesitates and is irresolute. Although like all girls in general, she fails to understand the strength and sudden uprush of the sexual need in the male; this misunderstanding depending upon physiological differences in the sexes is one of the chiefest causes of unhappiness in love, alike in marriage and in extra-conjugal relationships. And although, owing to the comparatively undeveloped state of her own sexual sensibilities, she has but a hazy idea of the complex phenomena of the sexual act; none the less in the course of the battle of love she has been so far inflamed, that at the bottom of her heart she also yearns for the culmination of the voluptuous ecstasy, and for complete self-surrender.

"But adverse considerations pass through her mind with the speed of the lightning flash. The dread of the unknown potentialities of the sexual process itself, fear of her parents, of reproach, of the possible child, the thought that the loss of virginity will involve the loss of her best chance of success in life; all these

things make her irresolute. Despite all of this in most cases the long-cherished glow bursts into a flame; and the girl is a fully consenting part to what follows.

"Not infrequently however the cold douche of the countervailing arguments puts out the fire; and the girl indignantly refuses a demand, which now that her own mind is freed from the fumes of passion, appears sudden, insolent, and even criminal. But the retreat often comes too late. The man now in part owing to the woman's own actions, is in a state of hypersexual excitability, which has entered the sphere of the pathologic, and deprives him of the power of free, rational self-determination.

"Very often the girl's share in the matter is merely ignorance of the sexual nature of the male. The woman plays with the man, coquets and trifles; allures and goads. Matters proceed to their inevitable end. Man if his sexual nerves are stimulated beyond measure becomes an animal. This phenomenon belongs to the region of psyche, under the impulse of the powerfully stimulated sexual impulse. Especially during the period of puberty, the youth has strong tendencies toward actions which infringe on the laws of civil society and are therefore punishable offenses."

Many men lose all interest in a woman the moment they have possessed her, no less if that possession has been obtained by means of marriage. There are others, morally at a still lower level, who, when a girl inspired perhaps by the most profound affection, has yielded to their entreaties, immediately regard her as a fallen woman and despise her accordingly.

A high-spirited woman, the woman who every modern man worthy of the name must desire as a proud, self-conscious comrade and collaborator, a woman with a

clear insight, has learned to control herself and keep others at a distance. Inspired by high sentiments of personal honor, self-respect, and firmness of conduct, this woman is practically free from all risk of violation, or other sexual aggression.

No other department of human life offers to the educator and social hygienist such extensive and fruitful fields of activity, and nowhere are the best endeavors of all more greatly needed than in this department of sexual life.

Every physician can testify as to the large number of "damaged lives" which come to him for repairs; so many of these young women come to women physicians that I have sometimes hoped that we see a disproportionately large number. I have not in mind the large class of shop and factory girls, who lack proper home environment and the conventions of good society, but the daughters of the well-to-do and wealthy classes, whose freedom of movement is well-nigh unrestricted. Three types will suffice for illustrations.

First there is the sweet, innocent, pretty young girl, whose mother allowed the frequent visits of a young man. They became engaged and were then allowed to go out in the evenings together. Her fall occurred through her innocence and ignorance. The youth so misrepresented his physical need that his sweetheart alone could "save him from going to the devil, so working on her sympathies and her great but terribly mistaken love, that the victim fell on the sacrificial altar. The final plea usually is, "Well, we are going to be married later on anyway."

There is also the tragedy of the trusted guest, not a young man, but a man of the world, who knew how to make himself so fascinating to his host's daughter. He

too worked his devilish wiles to the girl's undoing and then, like the hound that he was, hurriedly terminated his visit. This girl was older than the first, but was lacking in firmness of character, which is generally true of youth.

There is a third type of girl whose mother is one of the most charming, cultured, Christian women; but she was over-indulgent as a mother, and gave too little attention to the character of the girls and men with whom her daughter was associating. The girl's moral tone got slack, so that when thrown in tourist travel with a married man of loose morals, she became an easy prey to his advances. Not one of these mothers suspected the black tragedy which had blasted her daughter's life.

The Safeguarding of Maidenhood.—There is no other country in the world that would tolerate the tremendous latitude of liberty which is permitted American girls and young women—liberty of thought, liberty of expression, and liberty of action. We always use that word America as synonymous with that section of it specifically known as the United States, partly through modesty and partly because of the idiosyncrasy of the English language.

In the last twenty-five years, with the vast accumulation of wealth and the passing of the great masses of young women from the natural shelter and protection of the home into the world's great marts, we have rapidly acquired many of the vices of the older civilizations, and our girls and young women are exposed to the temptations of the world as they never were before. Then, too, every class of society contains that most dangerous element, known as *parasites*. These idlers, wherever found, form a grave menace to the home and to the state.

When a girl leaves school, be it grammar school, high

school, or college, her mother's troubles may be said to have begun. Her brother's leaving school has no such upsetting effect upon the household. Why the difference? Simply this: the boy is promptly put at a trade, goes into business, or studies a profession; while the girl is placed on the marriage market.

This is the psychologic time for the vocational education of the young girl, at least in the arts of home-making, marriage, and parenthood. This will involve courses in household economics, nursing, the care of children, etc.; and it should also include training for some definite vocational work. The American wheel of fortune makes such unexpected turns; the girl's father may to-day be a prosperous professional man or a wealthy business man; tomorrow he may be dead or have lost his entire fortune. These girls, who have only had a smattering of an education at our fashionable finishing schools, or have even been sent abroad to finish an education which was really never begun, are absolutely without any resources to fall back on. As for instance when a noted lawyer died, unfortunate speculations having swept away his entire fortune, his daughters, although much wealth had been expended upon them, had not been fitted to do any one thing well, and were obliged to take positions in one of our large dry goods houses. That man would have turned in his grave, could he have seen his carefully shielded daughters standing behind the counter, young and pretty as they were, exposed to the stares and insolence of shoppers.

Entirely aside from the economic necessity for such a course, there is a definite physiologic and moral necessity for women of every age to have a regular, fixed occupation. Love has its natural and serious beginning in maidenhood, but normal love has its limitations; to be

healthy, it cannot be allowed to run riot and drive everything else out of life. Otherwise there will be a pathologic stimulation of the passions which will undermine the strongest constitution.

The girl has now reached the most critical period of her life, not only physically, but psychologically. Too much care cannot be taken by her mother in the selection of her friends, books, and social amusements, for these will shape her ideals for future conduct. Friendships are either elevating or debasing; they are never absolutely negative. The young of both sexes have been thrown too indiscriminately together.

Where we have made our greatest mistake was in imputing to youth that strength of character and power to resist temptation which comes only from the hard discipline of life and in the stern school of experience. At an age when youth are least capable of resistance, we have most unnecessarily exposed our daughters to the evil influence of the thoughtless, the ignorant, and the vicious. Youth is recklessly generous and idealistic, the idle and dissipated man holds out to the innocent and virtuous young girl the alluring picture of reforming him, whereas men and women know that the men who need reforming, or who have not the strength of character to reform themselves, make very sorry husbands, or no husbands at all.

Now from the very underlying principles on which society is based, there results the fact that friendships are formed among those people with whom we are constantly thrown in contact; that they either help to make or mar us, and that the majority of marriages result from propinquity. Parents have either not realized this fact or have willfully shirked their responsibilities, and here fathers must bear an equal share of the blame with the

mothers. It is the duty of the father to learn of the habits of young men, of their families, and of their business, before they are permitted to become trusted guests in his home, and the mother should just as carefully weigh in the balance the girls with whom her daughters associate.

Our college girls are easily our best protected class of girls at that period of their lives when the young girl needs to be shielded from the world. Everything in their environment, the necessary discipline of such large groups of young women, together with their physical and mental training, builds up strength of character; so that on leaving college they are the best equipped to meet the vicissitudes of life. I do not deem it a matter of pure accident that, in a long professional life, of all the young girls with blighted lives, who were "damaged goods" on the marriage market and in the social world, who have come to me for professional advice, there has not been *one* college graduate.

The great liberty which has unfortunately been accorded American girls, the intimacy which has been allowed with her brother's friends and college chums when they are house guests, and the so-called flirtations in which they inevitably indulge, rub off much of that innate modesty which is one of the girl's greatest charms. For a girl to be considered "a jolly good fellow," and a "good sport," is in all probability the beginning of her matrimonial finish. To allow any familiarity of language or of actions is for the girl to cheapen herself; she insensibly loses caste.

Certain abstinences that might not seem in themselves important, are really most essential. Little familiarities, caresses, and kisses must at all times be avoided; they are like playing with fire. The youth never knows

when the electric thrill will vibrate through his being, awakened by a touch, that may break down all his previous good resolutions, injuring his future good and wrecking the life of his companion.

The finest men do not take these liberties, nor do well-bred girls permit them or respect the man who seeks them. Vulgar jokes and stories must be tabooed, as well as all allusions to vice as a natural or amusing thing. All unhealthy excitements, alcohol, and gambling must be shunned. Above all, the imagination must be controlled; nothing is more dangerous than the indulgence in voluptuous dreams. Longings so fostered, so pent up without outlet, are apt to break out in spite of scruples and resolves, if a favorable and alluring opportunity presents. The continuous mental attitude toward chastity will decide the issue of the battle at the moment of temptation.

Normal friendship with pure women is vitally necessary to men; and comradeship with men important for women. Normal interests of all sort are important; the man or woman who has a full, all-round life, who cultivates wholesome intellectual, esthetic, and religious activities, is in far less danger of an unregulated passion. Human nature must find some happy outlet or it will tend to run amuck. What we become depends largely upon what we get interested in. Abundant out-door life and sports lessen immoderate desires.

A very important duty of the community lies not only in the fight against all that is obscene in books, pictures, plays, movies, and the ballet, but it must substitute for them good, clean, and invigorating amusements in various social centers. Parents must bear in mind that in order to properly protect their own children they must assist in the general uplift of the community.

Corrupt morals carry with them a more deadly contagion than does bodily disease.

In order that it should not do actual harm to himself or others, the amount of liberty that is granted to the individual should depend on his mental, moral, and altruistic development. This is a self-evident truth. A child is not permitted to put his hand into the flame; dangerously insane man must be placed under restraint, both for his own safety and that of the community.

For their own highest good as well as for that of society, our sons as well as our daughters should have their personal liberty somewhat restricted, until they reach mature physical, mental, moral, and altruistic development. They should have a mentor, who would stand in the capacity of adviser and friend; the gain would be a tremendous one, both to the individual and to the state. This is, of course, primarily the duty of parents.

The point which must be borne in mind is that sex attraction, always a powerful influence, is at its height in youth; and the physiologic readily passes into the pathologic; the ruin of the innocent Gretchen by the damnable Faust.

The Betrothal and Marriage.—With the old English, as well as among other Teutonic peoples, at the dawn of history marriage was a private transaction, taking the form of a sale of the bride by the father or other legal guardian to the bridegroom. The procedure consisted of two parts: the betrothal and the giving away of the bride at the nuptials.

The betrothal was a real contract of sale, essential to which was the one-sided performance of the payment by the bridegroom of the price of the bride. In ancient times the person of the woman was doubtless the object of purchase, and within historic times, as

has already been shown, woman remained in perpetual tutelage.

Among the West Goths the betrothal was nearly as binding as the marriage. The father or other legal protector might contract his daughter or ward against her consent. At this period the amount of the bride money was generally fixed by custom and statute both in England and on the Continent, the amount depending on the rank of the woman.

From the sixth to the ninth centuries a general change in the folk laws of all of the German tribes took place; the purchase price was then no longer paid to the guardian, but to the bride herself; so that the right of the guardian was practically limited to the receipt of a nominal sum; that is, to a merely formal fulfilment.

In the tenth century the betrothal had become merely a formal contract, in which there was not even the payment of the bride price to the father or guardian; but, instead, the agreement which was accompanied by sureties to pay this to the bride.

The third phase of the betrothal may be clearly discerned in the English laws of the first part of the tenth century. In the first stage, falling mainly or chiefly within the prehistoric period, the betrothal is a real contract, according to which there is a two-sided fulfilment; the payment of the bride price, and the delivery of the bride. In the second stage, existing at least from the time of Tacitus onward, the transaction is still in the form of a contract or sale, but there is only a one-sided fulfilment; the purchase price is paid to the guardian, but the delivery of the bride is postponed. Next a solemn act through the payment of a nominal sum is deemed sufficient, the payment of the actual price being deferred to the time of the nuptials, when it is often

paid not to the guardian but to the bride herself. This is the genesis of the dowry. The betrothal is still a real contract, but not a contract of sale. Finally, even a one-sided fulfilment is no longer required. Nothing is paid and nothing is transferred at the betrothal, which now consists of promises and sureties; the real contract of sale has now been transformed into a merely formal contract, which provided for future fulfilment on the part of both the guardian and the bridegroom.

The second act is the actual giving of the bride to her husband. As among the Greeks, the Romans, and the Hindus, the nuptial ceremony appears to have consisted of three parts, of which the first or the giving of the bride is the most important; the father or guardian formally surrenders the bride with the symbols of her husband's power and protection, the sword, the hat, and the mantle. The second is on the reception of the bride; the husband pays the bride price or delivers a character providing for this or other allowance for the widow, at the same time making symbolic assertion of the power which he thus acquires over his wife, for example by treading on her foot.

Either party can bring action in the courts for breach of contract. The bridegroom cannot compel the delivery of the bride, but he may sue for a recovery of the bride gifts and an additional fine. On the other hand, a breach of contract on the part of the bridegroom is punishable by forfeiture of the bride price and possibly also a fine. The betrothal created the negative effect of marriage, the obligation of connubial fidelity.

In the eleventh century the forms of marriage were entering upon another stage. Originally the father could betroth his daughter against her will; gradually the power of the father weakened, the daughter being granted a

veto power over the choice of the bridegroom; that is, her consent was necessary in order to make the contract binding. Then gradually the relations of the father and daughter were entirely transposed, self-betrothal by the daughter constituted a valid contract while to the father was granted the power of veto. Naturally it was the widow, who in case of second marriage succeeded in emancipating herself from tutorial control.

The real contract through the payment of the bride price was retained; this was paid not to the guardian, but to the bride and appears most frequently in the form of a ring, so well known as the engagement or betrothal ring. The ring had been used by the Romans as the bride price, and like the bridal wreath and the bridal veil, the custom seems to have been borrowed from the Germans.

There can be little doubt of the historic connection of the betrothal ring and its duplicate, the wedding ring, with the bride price; whether or not it may be considered as a surviving symbol of the former servitude of the wife is a question.

The wedding ring appears to have been merely the earnest money, which bound the contract of marriage between the father and husband. The ring proved not that the marriage was a sale, but a civil contract, executed according to the strict formalities of contracts in primitive law. It proved not that the women were deprived of their rights, but that their rights were secured to them in marriage by the most careful provisions known to early society. This is, of course, a very emphatic statement of one side of the case.

Simultaneously with self-betrothal, the bride gained also the right of giving herself away. The parties conducted the ceremony themselves; but some one

generally appeared, possessed with the right to officiate at the giving away of the bride. This was the predecessor of the priest.

The betrothal consisted in reciprocal promises which the two made to marry each other. It was a necessary prelude to marriage, and always took for granted the previous demand for the hand of the young girl, and was a public proof of her consent. One finds this custom in all epochs and in all nations of greatest antiquity: Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews. A ring placed upon the finger of the young girl is still an ordinary sign of betrothal.

For long centuries, union or death was the only alternative which remained to the affianced couple. Such was the rigor of the engagement that only an incurable infirmity, as the loss of a member, leprosy, public dishonor, or abandonment for three years, could break it. Every violation of the given word was severely punished by the loss of the pledges or considerable amends, and even by death among the Bourguigons: "Those who are guilty must be punished by the loss of their heads."

The Church multiplied equally its precautions in order to prevent the infractions of the given word. The punishment was excommunication and the illegitimatizing of their children. It was only just, it said, to compare the most solemn acts of the first and voluntary engagement to the dignity of marriage.

Breach of Promise and Marriage Portions in the New England Colonies.—The New England Puritans retained the custom of pre-contract or betrothal, which, almost extinct in the mother country at that time, was everywhere celebrated with due solemnity. It was in fact a kind of marriage. The espoused couples were separated from the world and placed in a relation whose sacredness might not be violated without serious consequences.

When its social and legal consequences are considered, the New England betrothal seems to be an institution of far more historic interest than has generally been accorded it. Never perhaps in any modern society has parental control been so pronounced, but if consent were once given and sealed in due form, it could not be lightly withdrawn.

The early records abound in notices of suits for breach of promise. The colonists were a litigious people; even members of some of the best families did not hesitate to drag their matrimonial difficulties into court. Sometimes a jilted lover sued his sweetheart or a forlorn maiden sought satisfaction from her betrothed spouse. Sometimes a parent joined with his aggrieved child in seeking reparation. Further, Puritan lovers did not always hesitate to prosecute their parents for refusing marriage when permission had once been given.

From the amount of damage awarded the plaintiff, it would seem that the blighted hopes and disappointed affections were not judicially reckoned at an extortionate figure, but these were the days of "small change" in all domestic affairs. Sometimes very careful contracts were executed in court, regarding the property rights of the future husband and wife. Often before betrothal, and almost always before marriage, an exact arrangement was made between the parents touching the marriage portion on either side. "The higgling of dowries," says Weeden, "was one of the most singular practices of New England life. Even paupers were provided a marriage portion at the county's charge."

The Custom and Underlying Principle of Demanding a Dowry with the Bride.—The marriage dowry has not generally been considered from the standpoint of the increased economic independence of the wife; it was a

tremendous step toward the economic equality of the married couple. The dowry may have meant that the wife as well as the husband was expected to contribute to the joint household. It was also very often intended to be a settlement for the wife, in case the marriage should be dissolved by the husband's death or otherwise.

In Egypt, according to a papyrus taken from a tomb near Cairo, dated 341 B.C., it was the man who had to put up a bonus in order to make himself a matrimonial possibility. This dowry he gave into his wife's keeping. She was the guardian of the purse, the holder of the mutual property. If, after a trial of marriage, she came to the conclusion that he was not her true affinity, she had the privilege of divorce, in which case she returned only one-half of the dowry which he brought her and one-third of the property which they had acquired by their mutual efforts. While in English-speaking countries to-day the custom of a dowry for the bride does not exist; it is generally observed throughout all other European countries. In accordance with this rule a young woman entering upon marriage is expected to bring something of her own, either in goods, chattels, or money. Among the poorer classes this is usually turned over to the husband, who has full rights over the property; but in the higher classes of society, especially among the well-to-do middle classes, the bride's portion is for her own use, and at her death goes to her children.

Marriages in France, Germany, and other Continental countries are seldom arranged without a stipulated dowry; the income of the average young man, just as in the United States, whether in business or professional life, being insufficient to support a wife without assistance of some kind. European women subject to the

dowry system strongly approve of it and insist that marriages on which it is based are, as a rule, not only made up of real affection, but are also guided by a moderate portion of consideration. They believe that a woman who has a dowry of her own, enters the married state with a certain feeling of satisfaction and self-respect, which cannot be experienced by the bride who is utterly dependent on her husband. It is also their opinion that the average American girl wastes more before her marriage than would make up the dowry of her European sister in the same class of society. The fact that so many American marriages end disastrously on account of money matters is regarded as a further proof that the lack of a "dot" and the proper economy is responsible for a large share of American divorces.

Westermarck's opinion is that, if she does not possess especial personal attractions, a young girl of the present day without a "dot" runs a great chance of not getting married. This state of affairs is quite natural in a society where monogamy is strictly enforced, where the women are more numerous than the men, where many men never marry, and married women so frequently lead lives of idleness.

In the so-called American system, which prevails in the United States, young men take their wives without a dowry, but in reality these young men count on the future inheritance of their wives. The daughters of rich parents have vastly more chances of marriage than do those of poor parents.

M. Gohier writes: "Among non-civilized peoples the husband buys his wife; among ultra-civilized peoples the wife buys her husband. In sound and healthy communities neither buys the other; and love alone is the motive power in bringing about the union.

"But the honeymoon does not last forever. An hour arrives when the brutal husband shouts in violent tones, or the well-educated husband hints by gestures, insinuations, and allusions: 'Since I support you, you are my servant, my slave, my object.'" For a woman to owe her support to a man whom she adores may be tolerable; but when the adoration has worn off, it is a humiliation.

In the home, as in the outside world, the question of money carries on its work of destruction and dissolution. The abyss is dug between the one who has money and the one who has none; between the one who gives and the one who receives. Now this very question of money and all of the silent comparisons which it causes, all of the bitter calculations and all of the ignoble reproaches, disappear only on equalizing the possessions which each of the parties brings to the wedded life.

The custom of the dowry or its equivalent is highly essential for the stability of marriage, since, as we have already seen that it is because of their financial inabilities to support a wife and family that young men are obliged to defer marriage until so late in life. This is also one of the first rocks on which the matrimonial bark founders.

The most certain way of learning the exact value of money is to become a wage earner. After five years, say, spent in some definite occupation, a woman for the first time in her life realizes just to what extent money represents the life-blood of the worker. In the professional classes, especially, it is the intense anxiety, the heavy burdens of care borne for other people, as well as the uncertainty of the yearly income, that tells. It is the only really vital way of learning just what is essential in life, what are the luxuries and extravagances,

as well as just how great is the debt to humanity in general, to the unfortunate, the down-trodden, and the physically unfit.

Why should a young woman give up a good job with a comfortable salary, perhaps larger than her husband receives, only to be obliged to work much harder in her husband's home, on his meager income, than she ever did before at her vocation or profession? Why should the husband demand this, or the wife desire it? It is only another instance of the difficulty of breaking through the ingrained traditions and conventions. From time immemorial it has been the prerogative of husbands to support their wives, who in turn became their chattels; this custom seems to be almost indelibly stamped on the mind of the average man and woman.

Under right economic conditions, Professor Zueblin argues, every normal, intelligent adult, whether man or woman, should be at least self-supporting. The woman can then go to her husband on equal economic terms, as he would take a business partner. Later, if she ceases to be a wage earner, she contributes at least her services to the home; so the marriage relation not only becomes tolerable, but beautiful, and is sanctified by their mutual love, which is the only excuse for it.

Trial Betrothals versus Breach-of-Promise Cases.—Hasty marriages should always be condemned. Several eminent sociologists have suggested that some check system should be placed on marriage and the present varied and lax laws on the subject in our various states and territories. It is the opinion of Professor Zueblin that there should be a Federal law making it obligatory for the marriage license to be issued at least six months before marriage, and providing for the widest and most abundant publicity for such an announcement.

It has frequently been pointed out that the range of selection for the average young man or woman is totally inadequate; this is another reason against too youthful engagements. If for any reason the marriage can not take place within the year, no engagement should be allowed to be entered into.

It not infrequently happens that a young man of good family and of the best type learns after his betrothal that he has made a terrible mistake in his choice of a life-mate, having in the meantime met with quite a different type of girl, who was truly sympathetic with his highest ideals and aspirations. In spite of this, a very high-principled, although certainly short-sighted man, regards it as dishonorable to break his engagement, whereas it is vastly more dishonorable not to break it, after he has learned his true state of mind. It is only fair to assume that any honorable young woman realizes that the breaking of any such engagement is in her own highest interests.

Our laws in regard to breach-of-promise cases savor of antiquity, handed down as they have been from ancient civilizations through our own New England states. Here is where the law steps in and declares that the man must have some much more serious reason for breaking an engagement than mere incompatibility of temper or wider vision on his own part, as for instance unchastity on the part of his fiancée. In the case of an army officer or clergyman, girls and their designing mothers have always made use of two most effective weapons. If either of these men should break an engagement of marriage without proof of very sufficient reasons, the officer would lose his commission on the grounds of "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman" and the clergy-would be unfrocked for the same reason.

Either of these men may do one of two things: he may marry the girl and practically live at his club, seeking his pleasure outside of his home, the wife being his inferior in refinement of character, social position and intellectual training, all of which he discovered before asking to be released from his engagement; or, if his finances are such that he cannot afford to keep up two establishments, he may live at home and finally take to drink and opiates in order to drown his troubles. After his higher nature has been totally undermined he may either commit suicide or cast prudence to the winds and simply abandon his wife for some other woman. Of course his career and his life are ruined, but that was predestined when these two were made man and wife.

There is still another course left open to a man in one of these two most exalted and honorable callings: the girl may prevent him from marrying anyone else, but she cannot oblige him to marry her at any given date. The man can always plead inability to support a wife and children in a style befitting their social position. After some years of this indefinite engagement, when the girl sees that she is foiled, she begins to look about for someone else, and voluntarily breaks her old engagement. The man, however, has usually by this time become wearied and disgusted with the female sex, either becoming a mysogynist and crusty old bachelor or, for the sake of handing down an old family name, late in life marries some young girl. As we have already seen, such marriages rarely turn out to be happy ones.

Men at fifty are much more easily snared by the artful husband-seeker than are younger men. The young man is more elusive; he has his life before him and he does not quite know his own mind, nor is he quite sure of just what he wants. He also has fears of his young life being

blasted by the responsibilities of a growing family; then too he is enjoying the full hey-day of untrammeled youth and freedom. But sometimes he too succumbs against his better judgment.

So the man whose susceptibilities have been practised on until he has been carried away into a promise of marriage to which he can be legally held, and the man who has been led into an indiscretion which he must repair by marriage on the pain of having to regard himself as a scoundrel or a seducer, in addition to the utmost damages the lady's relatives can obtain from him, are equally bound by their betrothals.

Such a transaction is not an entrance into the "holy state of matrimony," but very generally entrance into a life of constant mortification for the woman; a life-long squabble and a corroding grudge that causes more misery and degradation of character than a dozen natural desertions and betrayals. Yet the number of marriages effected more or less in this way must be enormous.

One root of the present evil is to be found in the laxity of our present marriage laws, and still more so in the lack of uniformity of the marriage laws of the various states. Boys and girls can make a contract to marry at an age when they could not make a contract for anything else. In some of our states girls of twelve and fourteen years of age can marry without the consent of their parents. No publicity or previous announcement is required. In many states not even a license is demanded. If the laws of one state offer any hindrances, the parties can cross over to the adjoining state and be married there.

Paternal authority has declined in some countries much more than in others. Even to-day, in France, the law affords considerable power to the parents. A

boy cannot quit the paternal residence without the permission of his father before twenty-one years of age, except to enter the army. A son under twenty-five and a daughter under twenty-one years of age cannot marry without the consent of their parents; even at this age both are bound to ask for it by formal notification. Parental restraints to marriage still exist to a very great extent in Holland and Germany, the marriage of juniors being absolutely void without the consent of the father or, if he be dead, the mother. According to the Scotch, Irish, and American laws, the consent of the parents or guardian is not necessary to the validity of the union of minors.

Edward Carpenter points out the dangers which beset one belonging to the poorer classes in a search for a fitting mate. "It is really monstrous," he says, "that the girl or youth should have to set out on this difficult quest without a word of help as to the choice of a way, or of warning concerning the very real doubts and perplexities which beset it. Two people come together who know very little of each other, who have been brought up along very different lines, who certainly do not understand each other's natures, whose mental interests and occupations are different; to one of whom the subject of sex is probably a sealed book whose most dismal page has been opened first. The man needs an outlet for his passion; the girl is looking for a home and a proprietor. A glamour and an illusion descends upon them. It envelops in a gracious and misty halo all of their differences and misapprehensions. They marry without misgiving; but at a later hour with calmer thoughts, they begin to realize that it is a life sentence which has been passed upon them."

It is a notorious fact that breach-of-promise cases are

almost invariably brought by women, though no woman of refined sensibilities ever did, or ever could, bring up a breach-of-promise suit. In the first place, if this serious lack of affinity exists, the woman, as well as the man, has been most fortunate that it should have been discovered before marriage. The only honorable course on either side is to explain the state of affairs and ask for a release from the engagement, which will always be readily given by the other party to the betrothal; *at least*, if the man and woman are well bred, to say nothing of being thoroughbred. But from the consideration of marriage as woman's only vocation, her desperation on losing her victim is only too apparent, and her "broken heart," which can only be mended by a large financial consideration, is an outrage on the present-day civilization. Only lack of self-respect and indifference to public opinion will permit any woman to hale such a matter into court and become the subject of newspaper notoriety.

One of the surest means of cutting down the number of unhappy marriages and divorces will be to do away with these legal traditions of antiquity. In France to-day a promise of marriage, written and signed, is null, and the equivalent of a writing without value. The young girl has no recourse against her fiancé.

The evident intention of betrothal is to give the young people time to become acquainted with each other before becoming united in the indissoluble bonds of matrimony. Free and bound, they study each other; enjoying the chaste sweetness of a growing affection. The marriage which they are approaching hand in hand appears to them not merely as a material union, but as the supreme consecration of the fusion of their souls. England, Switzerland, Spain, and Germany have preserved this poetic character at this veritable epoch of life.

Once the vows are exchanged the young man is admitted into the intimacies of the family; the greatest facilities are given him to study the tastes and character of his future bride. He talks, walks, and corresponds with her, using his prerogative under the unique safeguard of promise of marriage. To-day unfortunately, the time of their engagement and even the time of their acquaintance have been abridged; this is also true of the number of days which the law and the church have placed between the announcement of the intended marriage and the marriage itself. The young people are never left alone without a chaperon. The rôle of the fiancé is reduced to official visits and the sending of a daily gift of flowers.

MARRIAGE

Somewhere there waiteth in this world of ours
For one lone soul another lonely soul,
Each choosing each through all the weary hours
And meeting strangely at one sudden goal;
Then blend they like green leaves with golden flowers
Into one beautiful and perfect whole,
And life's long night is ended, and the way
Lies open onward to eternal day.

EDWIN ARNOLD: *Destiny.*

CHAPTER XI

THE PROBLEMS OF MARRIAGE

The Essence and Characteristics of Marriage; the Classification of Marriages; (a) Marriage of Inclination or Marriage for Love; (b) Marriage for Profit; (c) Marriage de Convenance; Science and Marriage; the Danger Zones of Marital Life; (1) Marital Unethics: Man's Masterful Spirit and Assertion of Rights; Sexual Continence in Marriage; the Instinct of procreation; (2) *Failure in Domestic Economics; the Financial Squalls and Hurricanes;* (3) *the Spirit of Martyrdom and Tyranny of Tears; Due to the Wife's Lack of a Definite Vocation;* (4) *the First Arrival and the Neglected Husband; the Spirit of Jealousy;* (5) *Woman's Spatial Separation from Her Husband's Vocational Interests.*

Marriage is the only seal which marks the transition of the temporary into untiring service; and of fitful into eternal love. —Ruskin.

Marriage is one of the most desperate risks of existence as it is carried on to-day. The lovers enter the laboratory and put their souls to the test; they love and grow acquainted with the various selves of each other; they face the world and its problems together. —Rupert Hughes.

The Essence and Characteristics of Marriage.—Marriage is, always has been, and always must remain, a fundamental question among statesmen, churchmen, and social economists, because it is the very foundation on which rests the family, the state, the nation, and the progress of the race.

Considered as a contract, marriage presents certain characteristics which are encountered in no other human transactions. The most frequent contracts involve only a man's material interests; here it involves his intellectual and moral being as well. The ordinary contracts carry only an obligation or civil consequences, according to the agreement of the parties, while the consent of the parties concerned is not sufficient for marriage. This contract only becomes valid when it has received public sanction, in the name of society and the law, by the civil magistrate; and in the name of God by one of his ministers in those countries which have a State religion.

The authority of the State and Church is then necessary whenever a member of society wishes to change his condition; and it becomes a question of creating a new being. Finally, contrary to all contracts, which are temporary and can be canceled, the contract of marriage is perpetual and, according to the doctrines held by the Roman and Episcopal Churches marriage is a sacrament that is indissoluble. The other branches of the Church hold that marriage is a divine institution and therefore should be hedged about with every possible protection by the State and Church, divorce only being permitted for the gravest offenses. This last is practically the view taken by leading statesmen in all modern civilizations. In the eyes of physiology and hygiene, marriage is something more than a purely civil contract, as some philosophers would deem it; it is the natural and legitimate exercise of love and the creative instinct, authorized by the State and sanctioned by the Church.

Marriage is more than the consecration of the creative functions; the taking possession of the woman and the man by each other and legal authorization to increase the population. It is the uniting of two individuals into

one; the transforming of the double sexual nature into one unique nature, more powerful and more beautiful. It is not simply the adjunct of the woman to the man, but the completion and rounding out of the unity, the intimate cohesion of two sexual elements fused into one amalgam more glorious and harmonious.

From the marriage relation there results a wonderful creation, a new being; we have now, instead of the dual relation, to consider the trinity of father, mother, and child. This forms a new group called the family: a social center, the basis of primitive society, and the image of all future societies.

In every complete marriage there are two elements: a union which is prompted by mutual love and only sustainable as a reality by the cultivation of such love, and on the other hand a method for the propagation of the race, having its end in offspring. Both these ends have long been generally recognized. They are set forth for instance in the marriage service of the Church of England, where it is stated that marriage exists "both for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other," and also "for the procreation of children." The ethical doctrine in marriage should call forth the spiritual relationship, which leads to the calling forth of the spiritual possibilities. In order that the marriage should be complete there must be a mental affinity between husband and wife.

The influence that the woman at her best can bring to bear on the man is to socialize him in his work; to give him the vision and incentive to follow his calling. It is essential for the happiness of both and the success of their married life, that the wife should stand by her husband's side. It is said that women as a whole are interested in persons and not in abstract ideas or general

principles. This has been the result of their suppression and lack of opportunity for the educating of the higher intellectual faculties. One of the great causes of marital unhappiness has been the woman's inability to apprehend general situations and general principles; this is a further result of their limited education.

Marriage as the common life involves more or less community of goods, and fortune, sharing alike in prosperity and adversity, sorrow and happiness, two streams of life being combined into one. The relation is constant and close, as is no other. In marriage each one influences the other incessantly, and generally more deeply than in any other relation. The strongest nature cannot escape the penetrating influence of the other, whether for good or ill.

The presence of the child is the capital fact, to perpetuate the spiritual life on earth in human vehicles; and not only to perpetuate it but to enhance it from generation to generation. In order to do this it is necessary to enhance the spiritual life of the father and mother. It is the spirit which acts on spirit; it is the personality which acts on personality. It is the atmosphere created in the home, it is what a man or woman are in the process of becoming that is most essential. It is their life which makes a silent but searching appeal to the human side of the young.

When marriage is thus consummated on the basis of free, reciprocal consent; when both parties know exactly to what they have pledged themselves; when the corrupting influence of money is eliminated; when woman finally obtains equal rights with man; love and mutual respect, combined with sexual attraction, will constitute the intimate and personal ties of marriage.

At the same time instinctive sentiments and legal

duties, together with offspring, will furnish it with complementary and lasting cement. Among men whose natures are true the instinctive sentiment of altruism and conscience urges them to the performance of social duties, without the necessity of any legal obligations. Marriage is an inner and spiritual thing, of which that we commonly call by that name is only the outward symbol. Where the inner fact does not exist, neither does the marriage. In marriage, as well as in other affairs of life, it is the individual facts which we are called upon to meet that we may not shirk.

The Classification of Marriages.—Marriages have been classified into a variety of groups, based upon the conditions on which they were made.

a. Marriage of Inclination or Marriage for Love.—These are contracted without reflection, simply because of love and in spite of every obstacle. They are neither more happy nor more durable, for if one marries simply for love, as they say in Spain: "It is to place one's self in a temperature of forty degrees centigrade (104° Fahrenheit), forgetting that the temperature can easily fall below zero. Love takes wings and only grief remains."

b. Marriage for Profit.—These marriages are made by reason of avarice and by the suppression of every other sentiment. In marriages for fortune or social position, one or the other of the contracting parties are always sacrificed, sometimes both. One always marries badly in this way. Sometimes a ruined aristocrat marries a rich tradesman's daughter, in order to repair his fortune, while the vanity of his fiancée makes a title a desirable acquisition. Sometimes a coquette, by clever flirtation, will simulate a love she does not feel to catch a rich man in her net; but more commonly there is calculation on both sides and both are duped.

The impoverished foreigner who so frequently comes to the States seeking a fortune to mend the condition of his family estates, furnishes a type in which the father buys a husband for his daughter. These men generally possess a refinement of manners and a natural hereditary polish; they are acquainted with the little arts of attention to the slightest wants and whims of women, and have learned the art of luring their victims.

c. Marriage de Convenance.—These marriages are made for position, fortune, family, health or other analogous reasons. Ordinarily the parents or friends arrange these marriages. The two who are chiefly concerned remain indifferent. The marriage is one in name only, and we find that such marriage, in a large proportion of cases is, in itself, in certain respects a form of prostitution. Our social conditions have been unfavorable to the development of a high moral feeling in woman. The difference between the woman who sells herself in prostitution and the woman who sells herself in marriage, according to the saying of Marro, is "only a difference of price and duration of contract." Or, as Forel puts it, "Marriage is a more fashionable form of prostitution."

Doubtless in all ages since women have possessed property, marriages were oftener determined by pecuniary considerations than by love or affection, but proofs are wanting to show that marriage was made an object of speculation and exchange in the open market, with anything like the same effrontery as it is to-day. In our times, among the propertied classes, marriage barter is frequently carried on with a shamelessness which makes the phrase about the sacredness of marriage sound like the emptiest mockery. At no period has it been as difficult as it is at present for the great majority to attain what they consider as prosperity, and at no

period has the perfectly justified desire for the amenities and enjoyments of life been so universally disseminated as now.

Thus speculation on a wealthy marriage has become one of the chief means of rising in life. On the one side is the thirst for money, for as much money as possible, and on the other side the desire for rank, titles, and distinction. These desires, especially in the so-called upper classes, provide for each other's gratification. In these classes marriage is regarded as mostly a business transaction; it is a purely conventional tie which both parties outwardly respect, while each acts as his private feelings may direct.

The only legitimate moral end of marriage, whether we regard it from the wider biological standpoint, or from the narrower standpoint of human society, is sexual selection, effected in accordance with the laws of mutual love, having for its objects the joy and comfort which the one should have of the other and the procreation of the race.

Science and Marriage.—Science is not only examining and analyzing the causes of unhappy marriages, but is also pointing out certain means by which the whole institution of matrimony may be placed on a more satisfactory basis. First of all is the necessity for the sex education of the young, extending this education into the vocational one of marriage and parenthood.

Science has further shown the physical and moral risks of binding people together for life, without scruple, in the most artificial and ill-assorted unions. Research in the realms of psychology, for example, has revealed the serious evils which may result from incompatibility of temperament; in this respect science is far ahead of the times. Considering the amazing differences between

people, intellectually, morally, and socially, the only wonder is that more marriages do not break down. In some cases the causes of friction may be removed by mutual concessions or a striving for greater harmony, but in other cases the only satisfactory remedy is absolute divorce.

"Nagging," for instance, either on the part of the woman or the man, has been found by Dr. Howard, as one of the most frequent results of incompatibility of temperament. In the case of women, Dr. Howard points out that the nagging habit is usually due to psychopathic conditions innate in the sex, while in men it is simply the reflex of constant friction at home. "Man," he says, "does not understand that the emotional outbreaks of women usually have a nervous origin and are not always a mere demonstration of temper. Many times the man is cruel, he wounds by harsh words when he could bring harmony by tender acts and silent tongue. He does not as a rule, he simply nags. Especially is this so when a man starts drinking."

Dr. Howard then goes on to cite the case of a man who was married to a nagging woman, whose incessant tongue-lashings had the most serious results. They drove the husband to drink; he also became a nagger, and eventually his wife obtained a divorce. A year afterward the man re-married, and his second wife was a physically well-balanced woman. She was fit to be a wife and a mother, and to-day she is both. After the second marriage the man stopped drinking, and harmony and peace are to be found in this new home.

The wife also re-married, but again resumed her nagging habit; her second husband eventually contracted it. This woman was a nagger because of ill-health, and in each case the man contracted the same habit

because the symptoms of this ill-health reacted upon normal instincts which they had not learned to control.

In other instances mentioned by Dr. Howard the husbands were solely to blame for the irritation which led to domestic strifes, and in some instances their behavior made physical wrecks of their wives. He divides irritating husbands into three classes: brutes, insulting complainers, and subtle irritators.

Other psychologists have found other reasons for the discords which arise among so many married couples at the present time, such as the wearing effects of modern life and the increase of nervous complaints. Dr. Jung, of the University of Zürich and an eminent psychologist, has expressed his opinion as the result of observation and a long residence in this country, that Americans are the most tragic people on earth, and the United States is the country of nervous diseases. In every nervous disease there is a psychic element which is the witness of some painful conflict between body and soul. This nervous condition has its effect upon marriage. Men and women, who under normal conditions might live in harmony, irritate each other; incompatibilities arise which in many cases lead to divorce.

The Danger Zones of Marital Life.—A careful study of the causes of marital infelicity which are frequently the open sesame to the divorce courts, reveals five principal ones which to a certain extent are present in the majority of married lives. (1) Marital unethics; man's masterful spirit and assertion of rights; (2) failure in domestic economics; the financial squalls and hurricanes; (3) the spirit of martyrdom and tyranny of tears, due to the wife's lack of definite vocation; (4) the first arrival and the neglected husband; the spirit of jealousy; (5)

woman's spatial separation from her husband's vocational interests.

The importance of these five danger zones lies in the fact that every matrimonial voyage is confronted with them. They have grown to be veritable bombs, which frequently wreck the ship and leave the hitherto happy voyagers adrift in mid-ocean, far out of sight of land. Another fact which must be kept in mind is that even though the vessel may still be seaworthy, its integrity and staunchness are impaired in proportion to the amount of damage.

1. Marital Unethics; Man's Masterful Spirit and Assertion of Rights.—The art of love is based on the fundamental nature of courtship, in the effort of the male to make himself acceptable to the female. "A man should never permit himself a pleasure with his wife," said Balzac, "which he has not the skill first to make her desire." Every direct contact, every attempt at coitus, when the feminine organism is not aroused, produces a painful physical sensation, an instinct of repulsion, a feeling of disgust and aversion. Any husband who knows, and dares disregard it, has committed an outrage.

This greater difficulty or delay on the part of the woman in responding to the erotic excitation of courtship is really very fundamental, and covers the whole of woman's erotic life. A woman's love develops much more slowly than a man's and is more lasting. There is real psychologic significance in the fact that man's desire for woman tends to rise spontaneously, while woman's desire for man tends to be aroused gradually, in the measure of her complexly developing relationship to him.

In the great majority of cases this lack of the gradual transition of the celibate state to sexual enjoyment is

one of the explanations of the anxiety which the modern girl is apt to feel before the bridal night. Women writers have frequently described in the most vivid way the sentiments of alarm, amounting to physical disgust, intermingled with shame and terrible anxiety, experienced by the newly married girl when for the first time she finds herself alone with her husband. There are many elderly matrons to whom memories of the bridal night present themselves with all the characteristics of rape.

The young woman's dread of her husband has more causes than one. First of all there is the crass ignorance in which many girls of the upper classes are left before marriage, in regard to everything which concerns the sexual life; an ignorance which is responsible for an irresistible feeling of anxiety, and is not inconsistent with a dread expectation of terrible things to happen. This is all the more comprehensible when we remember that the girl, while deliberately kept in ignorance, has nevertheless been able to glean from conversations, from books, and overheard jests, a certain number of sexual facts, apt to be offensively conceived, precisely because they are torn from their natural context and are most remote from the normal workings of the healthy girl's imagination.

Where, on the contrary, the self-surrender is gradual, no anxiety arises. Anxiety and its sister feeling of shame disappear in the ecstasy of love; it takes to flight before the awakening of desire. The awakening of the sexual function is a tremendously important psychic and physical event in the life of any woman. Owing to the rupture of the hymen, the first conjugal approaches are usually accompanied by a slight show of blood, and the marital relations continue to be painful for some weeks.

Too-frequent indulgence at this period is a fruitful source of various inflammatory diseases; often causing temporary sterility or nervous and constitutional disorders.

There are many instances in which the complete ignorance of a young married woman with regard to sexual relations, combined with the cynical lewdness of the husband, has transformed an exalted love into profound disgust, and has sometimes even caused mental disorders. It is only a question of bad habits or lack of tact on the part of the husband, behind which perhaps there exists a true love. The wounds in the woman's sentiments may heal and intimacy may develop, but when the cynicism is too marked, when the habits of sexual debauchery are too inveterate, the love of the virtuous woman is soon stifled and is changed to resignation, disgust, martyrdom, or even hatred. Sometimes the crisis is accentuated and leads to divorce.

The brutalities of the nuptial night often prove the grave of love. As Balzac puts it, "Happiness in marriage depends on the first night." Before the consummation of marriage it is quite impossible to foresee what direction will be taken by the inevitable development of the respective sexual partners. Both will certainly continue to develop, the woman as a rule more than the man, for it is as a child, physically and mentally undeveloped, that a woman usually enters upon marriage.

The old saying that "you must live with a man to really know him" is true, and it is just as true in regard to a woman. It is a fact that the first few months after marriage is the critical period, so far as the attainment of happiness and success of the conjoints in their married life is concerned. Every intelligent person knows that most young girls enter into the marriage relation without any understanding of its true meaning, or even a

serious thought regarding its responsibilities or duties. The duties of a wife and mother require intelligence which is rendered efficient only by experience.

This much is certain, that it must be the aim of an enlightened system of education to devote all of its powers to effecting in the two sexes an early and parallel development of the internal and external factors of the effective life, the heart and the will, whereby the number of instances may be reduced in which the first love and the first lovers are not coincident.

Mothers should approach this subject with tact and diplomacy, but they should nevertheless approach it with the firm intention of persuading their daughters to view the situation from a common-sense point of view. It is the mother's duty to acquaint them with the truth. It cannot be doubted that throughout Christendom there has been a lamentable failure to recognize the supreme importance, not only erotically but morally, of the art of love. The art of love must be based on physiologic and psychologic knowledge; it is far too subtle, too complex, too personal, to be formulated in lectures and manuals. It has heretofore been allowed to rest on ignorance, indifference, or worse.

"Why is it," asked de la Bretonne, toward the end of the eighteenth century, "that girls who have no morals are more seductive and more lovable than honest women? It is because that, like the Greek courtesans, grace and voluptuousness were taught, they have studied the art of pleasing. To-day the happiness of the human species is abandoned to chance; all of the experience of women is individual, like that of animals; it is lost with those women who being naturally amiable, might have taught others to become so. These mysteries were annihilated as infamous, but this may be considered as one of the

wrongs wrought by men of little enlightenment and bitter zeal; dangerous puritans who were the enemies of marriage."

It is now the consensus of opinion of the leading educators in social science, that if the whole subject of the art of love, including sexual hygiene together with the erotic discipline of marriage, were properly taught and understood, and the details of its practical conduct became a part of the written social science, the monogamic marriage might attain a far more general success than is often found in actual life.

Sexual Continence in Marriage.—When the intoxication of the honeymoon is over, the continuance of conjugal happiness depends on an intimate adaptation of the two conjoints in sentiments, intelligence, and sexual appetite; an adaptation which purifies love on both sides. Work in common, a common ideal, mutual respect full of affection, but free from flattery, and a reciprocal education which does not degenerate into pedantry or tyranny, are the principle conditions for conjugal happiness.

Marriage should be regarded as a means of satisfying the sexual appetite and be at the same time a moral and social school of life, not a refuge for egoism. Division of duties, absolute equality of rights, and social work in common, will solidify more and more the sexual bonds of the two conjoints. By the aid of a better understanding of human society the conjoints will learn how to overcome their egoistic sentiments, their polygamous inclinations, and their jealousies. Single beds have now become the rule for married people, but it is not yet so generally understood that every individual, married as well as single, should have a separate room, for hygienic as well as esthetic reasons. Love and admiration would certainly be more lasting.

No exact rule can be given for the frequency of coitus, for this is a matter of reciprocal arrangement; twice a week is the average given by modern physicians and physiologists. Individual desires and individual aptitudes vary greatly within the limits of health. Moreover, the restraint of the desire is essential during the menstrual period, illness, at least the last months of pregnancy, and the lying-in. Sexual needs are the needs of two persons, husband and wife, and the adjustment must be the harmonious one of these two groups of needs.

Forel says: "No man has a right to compel his wife to intercourse, whenever he pleases. The question is a very delicate one; but by the aid of good will, a satisfactory solution of this problem can be obtained in most cases. Love and mutual respect will find a way out of the difficulty. It is equally essential to avoid extreme asceticism and unnatural idealism on the one hand; and excessive sexual indulgence on the other. A happy medium is the wisest course."

In the great majority of human beings to-day the manifestations of the love instinct assume a rude and primitive form. What man loves is not a woman, but women; that is to say, the females of his species. His chief desire is the act of physical union. Every woman is regarded as man's predestined prey, unless deprived of value by age or some physical defect.

The satisfaction of hunger in the love act does not in any way infringe on the basic principles of ethics; on the other hand, the satisfaction of sexual hunger by force is fundamentally unethical, within marriage no less than without.

Such a conception as this naturally implies the condemnation of licensed brothels and similar places, in which women have to submit themselves to all clients,

without any right to rebellion, either physical or moral. This moral law is not only ignored, but deliberately thrust aside, precisely in that variety of sexual relations which is the most elevated. In marriage the sexual law of inviolability is continually infringed, as the result of woman having been considered the property of the husband; it has survived the conception of marriage as a contract with equality of rights.

In those cases where mutual affection has disappeared and even mutual esteem has vanished, yet divorce is impossible, the obligation of the wife to submit herself passively to the sexual orders of her husband, produces one of the most horrible features of prostitution.

A peculiarity of the sexual appetite in man, vastly increased if not caused in great part by the double standard of morals or man's unchastity before marriage, is his desire for change, so fatal to marital happiness and society at large. This desire is not only one of the chief causes of polygamy, but also of prostitution. It arises in the lack of sex attraction in what one is accustomed to, and from the stronger excitation of all that is new. On the average, the constitution of woman is much more monogamous than that of man. Such desires on the part of the husband may be overcome by a true and noble love, and by sentiments of duty, fidelity, and respect toward his wife. It is also important to remember that superabundant feeding and idleness increase the sexual appetite, while hard physical work or sports carried to the point of fatigue and a frugal diet tend to diminish it.

It is needless to say that the mental qualities act powerfully on the physical appetite. A quarrelsome temper, coldness, and repulsion on the part of the wife, cool the desires of the husband and also frequently drive

him elsewhere, while her love and tenderness tend to increase and maintain them.

No one but a dullard will vaunt himself on the possession of a frigid wife; no one else could fail to understand that a frigid wife is not always a frigid woman, and that frigidity, far from being a safeguard against infidelity, may on the contrary merely be its precusor. The sexual embrace, effected purely as a one-sided act and as an affair of routine, must in the long run prove repulsive to the man of fine sensibilities. A woman who is devoid of a certain measure of animality, and that in by no means a small measure, must be regarded as a degenerate.

The salvation of married life is to be found not only in the multiple elements of a moral and economic order, but in addition in rendering the sexual life which married life implies less monotonous. Conjugal felicity becomes a more vital affair when the sexual relations are more vivacious. Unless she possess a certain amount of eroticism, the wife will unconsciously tend to drive her husband to adultery.

Among the propertied classes the wife not infrequently sinks to the level of the Greek woman; she becomes a mere apparatus for procuring children, a guardian for the house, and a sick nurse for the man. The husband finds amusement and gratification for his amatory passions with courtesans, whom we call mistresses, whose elegant houses are the best quarters of the two.

The Instinct of Procreation.—An extremely important question in this connection is: "How can the best quality of children be procreated? The first condition is the good quality of the parents. Heredity, or the intellectual and physical value of their ancestry, is of paramount importance, together with their moral traits and strength of character. The parents must, at the time of the pro-

creative act, be in good physical and mental condition; until the State makes some adequate provision for the care and education of the children of poor parents, they should not procreate more than they can give a good start in life.

The necessity to eliminate the unfit and to prevent, so far as possible, the procreation of sickly children, as well as to be able to choose the time best adapted for conception in the interests of the mother and the child, necessitates the use of some harmless method for the prevention of conception at other times. It has been estimated by medical authorities that 90 per cent. of the young couples of the well-to-do classes do use preventives.

It is now a well-recognized fact that excessive families are associated with degeneracy and abnormalities of every kind. There are certain cases where persons ought not to marry at all. There are other cases where marriage has taken place under more favorable circumstances, but where it has become highly desirable that there should be no more children. This is the case where a first attack of insanity occurs after marriage. The same holds true if one of the parents becomes tubercular, or in the case of heart disease, etc.

2. Failure in Domestic Economics; the Financial Squalls and Hurricanes.—If the husband were responsible for steering the matrimonial bark into the first danger zone, no less does the responsibility rest on the wife for directing its course into the second. The money question is the insidious poison which breaks up so many otherwise happy homes. As has already been hinted, if married life is to afford satisfaction to both husband and wife, not only must mutual respect and love be present, but also the assurance of possessing that portion of pleasure and normal recreation which is in-

dispensable for them and for their children. Gnawing anxiety and the sharp struggle for existence drive the first nails and certainly the second into the coffin of marital happiness and content. The more fruitful the union, the more pressing does the anxiety become.

The direct results of the complications and refinements of civilized life has made women as well as children objects of luxury. With the intention of making his family happy and distinguished, the father brings it up in luxury, and his daughters in idleness. This degenerates into an artificial desire for brilliancy and show. Men, but more especially women, do their best to eclipse each other in their tables, their toilettes, the comfort and luxury of their homes, their pleasures, their distractions, their banquets, and their *fêtes*. Daughters brought up in homes such as these become accustomed to a number of artificial wants, which make them increasingly hard to satisfy. They become social parasites, living on the life-blood of their fathers and, later on that of their husbands.

In the great majority of cases daughters of the rich do not have their own bank accounts and monthly allowances, which would instill into their minds at least a few fundamental business facts. On the contrary, they are allowed to have accounts at the various large stores, which are sent monthly to the head of the house. The fathers frequently fume and storm; the wives and daughters wheedle 'the old man,' and are fairly successful in this line of business. They always look forward to marriage as the time when they will have their own houses and all the money to spend that they wish.

There are, to be sure, a very few exceptional mothers who train their daughters in domestic economy by giving over the housekeeping into their hands on a certain

allowance, demanding that everything be paid for in cash and that they keep within this allowance. These same daughters are also given an allowance for dress, amusements, etc. The mother's theory is that her daughters will naturally marry comparatively poor young men, just as she did; and probably her views on the wife's duty in marriage had not a little to do with the fact that her husband became a multi-millionaire. There are now other wealthy girls taking systematic courses in domestic science; these are for the most part young college graduates, but they are all exceptional cases. For the most part the picture given above is the correct one, not only for wealthy girls but, what is still more criminal, for poor girls as well.

It has rarely been for the woman, what she could put into the firm, but what she could get out of it. Now the average young man under thirty, whether in business or professional life, is making a very modest living, which will require the most careful expenditure on the part of his wife to keep the family budget well within the limit. Perhaps the wife does not know just what her husband's income is; very often she never gives the matter a thought. She goes on with the same extravagances in which she indulged before marriage, or in the longings of which she indulged at that time.

The husband, on his part, racks his brain to raise money to meet his wife's squanderings. Often he is obliged to give up valuable research work, which brings in very little cash, but will eventually place him at the head of his profession, in order to do ordinary hack work for quick returns. It is the husband who has made all of the sacrifices, gradually giving up one after another of the luxuries and comforts of his bachelor days, but the day of reckoning is coming, and when it arrives this

young couple, stripped of all their illusions, behold each other's naked souls. The husband finds that his wife knows only in the most superficial way of his most vital life interests; that she is totally unaware that she is undermining all that is best and highest in his life; that to her he is a mere money-making machine, and the two are absolutely antagonistic.

There is a companion piece to this picture of the financial tragedy of married life when the husband is a born miser, or that type of cave man who requires an accounting from his wife for every dollar which he gives her. She is sometimes allowed to run accounts at the stores, but he scans and criticizes her purchases critically and not infrequently demands that they be returned.

Under these circumstances wives stoop to all sorts of subterfuges. Women sometimes bribe the tradesmen to make the bills larger than they should be and give them the difference in cash. If these men are comparatively poor, their unfortunate wives slave out their lives doing domestic work and caring for their children, and the man thinks that she should be thankful for having such a good home and some one to provide for her. These women are really mendicants all of their lives. Not only are their bodies worn out, but their minds and souls are starved. When these wives have money of their own, the husbands try to get control of it.

In the vast majority of cases we are justified in believing that the motives leading to matrimony are seldom pure and unalloyed. Both the man and woman hope that by this union they will gain some advantage. Why shouldn't they? If it is a square deal, each must sacrifice something of his or her independence and some of the former comforts of life. The man also generally counts upon the pecuniary advantages with the greatest ex-

actitude; it may be he expects that the comforts of a home will be on the whole greater than those of his bachelor life, with no great financial outlay. He counts on his wife being a good housekeeper, as well as a pleasant companion. If his wife has no definite vocation outside the home he is justified in thinking that she should, in some way, contribute to the running expenses of the firm.

Woman's economic dependence on man is a stigma to her sex. When a woman has to earn her living by being a wife, she is tolerably sure of being an unhappy wife, and she usually manages to make her husband who provides her with a living an unhappy man. This same economic dependence is a drawback to the woman; it stunts and stultifies her intellectual and moral development. If woman were relieved of her economic dependence it would remove one of her chief moral defects, that of circumlocution, by which she gets around a man, whether during the delusion of the courtship or the rifling of his pockets after marriage. Place the work of wife and mother on the same financial footing as that of any other labor, and allot so much weekly or monthly on that account.

The woman who has proved before marriage that she possesses an aptitude for her work and has her own peculiar talents, should continue in her vocation after marriage; besides the financial returns, she will bring into the married life a broadening atmosphere which comes from direct contact with the world and its work. A very sensible and highly cultured woman, the mother of five children, who had a very comfortable private income, one day said to me: "I know that the time which I am giving to this great philanthropic work, by bringing me as it does into contact with so many broad and cultivated minds, is worth far more to my husband and children

because of this outside atmosphere which I am thus able to bring into the home than the same amount of time spent, for instance, in pushing my baby's perambulator." The woman who had the intelligence to see that, far from neglecting her family, was a most systematic and exemplary housekeeper, wife, and mother.

3. The Spirit of Martyrdom and Tyranny of Tears, due to the Wife's Lack of Definite Vocation.—In the majority of cases the man marries for love. He so idealizes the woman of his choice that his greatest source of peril lies in his distorted vision. When his first amorous intoxication has subsided, the man returns to his usual mode of life; each expects much from the other and gives little in return. When some strange obscure element intrudes itself, turning their harmony into discord, and a rift shows itself in the ideals of both, the man feels helpless, bewildered, and frantic. The wife soon leaves off trying to please her husband when he in turn seeks his pleasure elsewhere and reserves his bad temper for his wife. Whereas nothing is more essential in the life of the home than the art of being amiable, this combined with the higher sentiments of respect and love will make sexual attraction more lasting and go far toward maintaining a happy union.

A man cannot work efficiently and worry at the same time; modern business methods are conducted on such a strenuous basis that to keep in the ring a man needs every ounce of reserve that he can command. It is only the wife trained for a useful vocation before marriage who can appreciate the need of freedom of time, energy, inspiration, and encouragement.

The young wife's material success, as well as that of her husband, depends upon his efficiency; and a married man's efficiency depends almost entirely upon his wife.

When a man attains a great material success, if he acknowledges the truth, as so many gladly do, he will say that his wife is deserving of most of the credit. The husbands of most good, sensible wives are successful. If a man, unfortunately married to a woman who is not a helpmate and a well-balanced wife and mother, achieves success, he does so by reason of his innate strength of character and in spite of the unjust draft upon his efficiency; but most men under these conditions lose heart and interest and become failures.

It may interest young wives to know that a large number of corporations have recently begun to systematically investigate the domestic environment of their employes. If it is found that it is not happy, that they do not enjoy a restful and congenial home life, they discharge them. They claim that the man who is worried cannot be efficient; and if he is not efficient he is not dependable to have in their employ. Some railroad companies will not allow an engineer to drive a passenger train after it is discovered that he is unhappily married. If the woman is guilty of conduct which is interfering with the earning capacity of her husband, she is erecting an insurmountable obstacle to happiness and success.

The struggle of life has become so exhausting that almost everybody's nerves are at the explosive point. Any woman who has had long professional experience knows that there is simply no comparison between the burdens to be born in the contest, struggle, and competition of the business world, and that of the housewife and homemaker; indeed many of these women make that their pleasant avocation.

Don't experiment with a man. The trouble with women is that they think they understand men, whereas very few of them, unless they happen to have brothers

of their own, know anything about them until after marriage. Man says of his brother man: "Deep down every man is a brute. There is a certain elemental devil in every male animal. Don't rouse it. You are only a woman; don't invite quarrel; you will get the worst of it. Keep on the peaceful side of the street. Your tact, your silence will give a man time to think it over and will make him ashamed of himself."

We women know that deep down in every woman there is also a complementary elemental devil; different in kind and expression, but just as ugly a beast. The tongue is the woman's weapon, even as the fist is the man's, and it is a far deadlier one. Words break no bones; they break hearts instead. Yet, were men one-tenth so ready with their fists as their wives are with their tongues, what savage brutes they would be considered. A woman is very often the creature of her temper; her husband, her children, and her servants are its victims.

One of the young husband's just complaints is that his wife makes too heavy demands upon his time, and wants him to give up all of his old associates and pleasures in which she cannot participate. There are two causes for this state of affairs: first, either the young woman has no resources within herself, or she has most unwisely given up her own vocation before marriage and has in a most misguided spirit cut loose from her old associates. Another and more fatal reason is the woman's innate jealousy; she so ingenuously manages her husband as to antagonize all of his most intimate friends, men as well as women, even to his relatives, until a once most popular man suddenly faces the dismal fact that he has been cut off from the world and all that he holds dear. Eventually there is a matrimonial storm.

Then the wife weeps and grows morose, declaring that her husband does not love her any longer. She faces the world with the air of a martyr and never fails to put her husband in the wrong. These martyr wives, who have such command over their lacrimal ducts, are the ones whose eyes do not get red and their noses do not swell from weeping.

Here is where the mother-in-law gets in her fine work. If the truth were known, doubtless it would be learned that the mother-in-law is responsible for as many suits brought for divorce as any other three causes put together. She fills her foolish daughter's head with all sorts of poison that insidiously does its deadly work. That old saying of the Latins might be slightly changed so as to read, "Beware lest the mother-in-law infuse poison into the marriage cup."

Sometimes, before the final tragedy, the wife wakes up to the awfulness of the part which she has played in the marriage pact, as is so vividly depicted by Wells, when the wife says: "What are we women—half savages, half pets; unemployed things of greed and desire; and suddenly we want all of the rights and respect of souls! I've had your life in my hands from the moment we met together, if I had known. It isn't that we can make you or guide you; I'm not pretending to be an inspiration; but we can release you. We needn't press upon you; we can save you from the instincts and passions that try to waste you altogether on us."

The inborn rampant ego in the man finds outlet in wholesome, hard work, which further keeps it down; whereas, if the woman has not likewise some serious vocation outside of her home, her devouring egoism is likely to prove a troublesome factor, vouchsafing her little more peace than it does those in her immediate surcharged vicinity.

The young wife, unprepared, undisciplined, uncounseled, impatient of anything short of her dream phantasy of an ideal man, refuses even to try to adjust the yoke to her inexperienced shoulders; endeavoring instead to throw it off, glorying in the assertion of her egotistic self. She has not been told that no man and woman celebrate a golden wedding without having had a secret history of struggles and bitter disappointments; at times there has been for the spirits of both of them a period of loneliness, jealousy, and physical and mental agony, out of which love triumphant has arisen phœnix-like from the ashes.

Complete self-mastery in matrimonial conflicts is a long and difficult acquisition. Happiness, contentment, and success are products of duty well done. They are the logical recompense of duty and sacrifice. Individual happiness is not the chief object of existence in this life. To work efficiently is the supreme obligation. It is natural to desire happiness and to work for it, but it is absurd to be annoyed and angry because we do not find it. Happiness through marriage is never attained except by never-ending self-abnegation and effort.

4. The First Arrival and the Neglected Husband; the Spirit of Jealousy.—It must be remembered that not merely the too-rapid succession of children, but also the too-early birth of the first child after marriage may prevent the attainment in the life of the married pair of that minimum of happiness which is indispensable, if life is not to be felt as a burden.

Marriage to-day provides neither for the gradual development of the virgin into the young wife, nor for that of the young wife into the mother. It may rather be said to skip the second stage; so that the young woman who was one day without sexual experience is found at the

next to be at the commencement of motherhood. It is a well-known fact that in a very large proportion of marriages the first pregnancy dates, if not from the wedding night, at least from the first week, month, or first quarter of married life. It is by no means uncommon for the bride to return from the honeymoon a pregnant woman.

It must further be remembered that pregnancy, and especially the first one, involves the exercise of the greatest care during nine months; the renunciation of severe physical games and sports, as well as of dancing, and much of the gaiety of social life. It involves also an increasing incapacity and unwillingness for the sexual embrace, implying a period of sexual suspense, increasing nervous irritability on the part of the husband, which demands from him a large amount of affection for his wife, and powers of renunciation and sexual abstinence, together with strong healthy nerves.

It is the opinion of Michel that "in 50 per cent. of unhappy marriages, the unhappiness dates from, and is dependent on, the long quasipathologic state of the young wife, which is associated with pregnancy; upon her consequent incapacity to be the man's playmate, associate and traveling companion; and also upon the disinclination which she feels for erotic intercourse. All of these inconveniences, which at a later date the man might learn to support with greater equanimity, give rise when he finds himself inexperienced in conjugal life, to a painful sense of disillusionment, which go far to disgust him with marriage."

For the young wife also, such a speedy oncoming of pregnancy involves very serious consequences. To woman marriage involves a complete revolution of her habits, an unduly sudden initiation into the mysteries

of sexual life, the independent assumption of the cares of a household, with all of the responsibilities which this implies; a certain degree of social emancipation, with a relative freedom of movement; a reconstruction of her list of relatives, and finally the discharge of a certain amount of artistic duties in the furnishing and adornment of her new home.

If the young wife is to meet these complex demands successfully, she requires time for consideration; she needs to adapt herself to her new status; she needs peace and quiet; and in default of these things the basis of conjugal life will necessarily become insecure. Yet in most cases the young wife, on the morrow of her marriage, has to devote her attention to making ready for the expected baby; and in these cares her whole mind is concentrated. It is often impossible, in the long course of subsequent years, to make good the damage suffered by the marriage in those early months.

In the first years of married life, what the young man wants, though often unconsciously, what he mainly desires, is that his wife should be his companion, his comrade, as well as his beloved. For this he has chosen her from among other women, but none of these demands can be adequately filled by the expectant mother, the parturient woman, the nursing mother, or the mother preoccupied by the cares of the little child. Thus this early motherhood deprives the husband of many of his finest hopes and often destroys the charm and attraction which the young wife possessed before marriage.

From the psychic point of view the man also is united to his offspring by intimate bonds. In the woman's case, her life, her essence, are revolutionized by motherhood, during the months which precede as well as those which follow her child's birth. At this period the mother

is always absorbed by the care of the child and with its welfare, while the husband occupies only the second rank, whereas before this time it was the husband who received all of those attentions which are now given to the child. Many men do not know what to make of this sudden transformation in the affective sides of their wives; its motives are altogether beyond their comprehension. Hence has arisen the legend that what woman seeks in marriage is not love but motherhood. She loves a man, we are told, not for his own sake, but simply as the only available means for the gratification of the feminine instinct of motherhood.

Man is further confirmed in this erroneous view by the repellant or least expansive attitude of the young mother, wholly immersed for the time being in the worship of her infant. During the period of lactation the mother's whole body tends to be drawn toward her child and away from her husband; not away from him as the father of her child, whom precisely as such she will load with tenderness, but from her husband as a lover.

Convention and education, acting primarily in the sexual interest of the egoism of the male, who wished to keep the female tied to the cradle in order to preserve the world and its joys for his own sex alone, have affected a concentration of his wife's attention on her child, physiologically grounded as that affection is, to a degree that is neither essential nor desirable. A married woman has hitherto been more highly esteemed as a mother than as a collaborator with her husband.

If in the earlier stages of their marriage the husband has become accustomed to making certain intellectual demands upon his wife; if before the birth of their child the two were spiritual comrades, the cleavage in the woman's life between her duties as wife and mother will

have its difficulties redoubled. If the woman has been properly trained to do good vocational work, she has learned that to do efficient work she must be systematic. Very many clever professional women have solved the problem in this way; their day is charted out: so many hours being devoted to their professional work, which comes at such a time; so many hours to their children; so many hours to their husbands, so there is no hurry, no rushing about to keep appointments. These women practically cut out their social life and give the time which society women devote to its affairs to their professional ones. Of course they have trained nurses for their children when they are very young and trained nursery governesses for them later, so neither the husband nor the children suffer; indeed they are vastly better off than the husband and children of the average fashionable woman of America to-day. As a matter of fact it is a great exception for a woman in this country to share her husband's intellectual labors; their only common duties are their social ones.

A much more serious problem is that of a woman with a more limited income, who cannot afford the trained nurse or nursery governess for her children. This problem is now being studied and its solution seems about to be at hand in the crèche and co-operative housekeeping schemes.

5. The Zone of Darkness; Woman's Spatial Separation from Her Husband's Vocational Interests.—Since the days when patriarchy assumed the reins of government woman has been placed spatially outside of the interests of man, so that their interests would appear to be as entirely separate as those of different races. The only places where they meet on common ground are at the domicile, which they call their home and for the propagation of the race.

It has been truly said that the husband sees much less of his wife than he does of his business partner, his fellow clerk, or whoever works beside him day by day. As a rule the woman knows nothing of the man's working life and he knows nothing of hers, which he calls the home life.

It is remarkable that the very people who romance the most about the sacredness of the marriage tie are those who are most firmly convinced that the man's sphere and the woman's sphere are so entirely separate that only in their leisure moments can they ever get together. Very frequently husband and wife never get together at all. Those of the leisured class attend social functions together, but there is no real vital family life.

This state of affairs has come about through the fact that man so rarely selects his companion for life because of her allied intellectual qualities, and true friendship is essential for the ideal married life. A friendship that is not an inspiration, an incentive to higher thoughts and higher deeds does not ring true. Each one of the partners should be able to contribute something of these qualities in their married life. Instinctively we can tell these people when we come into their presence; we leave them with the feeling that they have brought out the best that is in us, as well as that they have inspired us to further and higher efforts. These moments of inspiration help us to keep at a higher level than we otherwise would; we climb a little higher, our vision becomes broader, and we begin to get a clearer idea of the meaning of life. We see life in a truer perspective and we are the better able to meet its disappointments and vexations. Sorrow is more easily borne and our joys are doubled in sharing them with

another. True friendship means confidence, affection, love, and harmony.

If the wife hopes to maintain her position in the home and in the affection of her husband and gain the respect of her children, she must have her household and other duties so arranged that she can give a certain time every day to the culture of her mind. She must keep up in the politics and the current events of the day; she must attend systematic courses of lectures. Her husband may seriously need a working housekeeper when he is starting in life, but there have been physicians and young lawyers whose wives took in boarders and worked the flesh off their bones in order to support the family, until the husband should be self-sustaining and when he reached a position of comparative affluence he was beast enough to say to his wife: "If it were not for you I could move in the best circles." Even though the husband, on attaining the summit of his career, may be loyal to his wife for bearing with him the heat and burden of the day, he knows himself to be terribly handicapped because of his wife's ignorance on every subject outside of the domestic one. She is ill at ease among her husband's friends, and does not understand her children who have had the best modern education.

Even though their social position and knowledge or, perhaps better, lack of knowledge was very well balanced when they started out on their matrimonial voyage, the husband always has two avenues of acquiring the broadest of educations; that given by coming in contact with superior and cultivated minds. In the course of his business or professional career he grows with his business as it increases; he becomes more important in the community. He mingles with keen, wide-awake business men, his wits are sharpened; his brain must be

alert and virile. A healthy, active mind always grows; it is responsive, it absorbs knowledge. As he climbs higher his rough, crude corners are worn off and he assumes a worldly cultivation, which men of sound sense can adapt to any social exigency.

Now the misfortune of the wife has always been that her four walls comprised her world, and unless she has a true appreciation of the vital necessity of also mingling with the world and keeping pace with the general progress of the times, she remains stationary in point of intellect and culture, which no man or woman can afford to do, particularly at the present time, when the world is going forward intellectually, morally, and spiritually in leaps and bounds. Now that the Great War is over, it will probably be found that mankind has progressed further along these lines than in the preceding hundred years.

Another important point is that the more refined and cultivated the husband's tastes become, the more critical he is in the judgment of his wife's crudeness and lack of refinement; it not only jars on his sensibilities in the seclusion of the home, but he is constantly mortified when she appears with him in the social world. Very few men have the courage to face such a social ordeal, with the result that the wife is left very much to herself. If the wife would remain her husband's companion to the very end of the voyage, she must keep pace with his progress—intellectual, moral, and spiritual.

The man secretly wants a home to which he can invite and entertain his friends; he wants a wife who will shine socially at his side and hold her own in his hard-fought way in the social world. He forgets that it was by becoming his slave that his wife was carried down the current, too exhausted physically to fight up the

stream at his side; and that it was his wife who so freed him in those early days of financial struggles that he was so easily able to improve his higher nature. It, therefore, behooves the young wife to see to it that she keeps abreast of her husband and the times in which they live. Let him do a little more of the sacrificing of his comforts; let their expenditures for the good things of this life be a little better equalized.

The average man of to-day retains many of the cave man's instincts. His young wife comes to realize that there are two distinct natures in his being; and that while she rules in the emotional part of his mind, she is completely shut out from his intellectual and business pursuits. If her vision is very keen she soon realizes that his moral nature is less rugged than when she married him. The husband stoops as it were to put himself on a level with his wife, just as a little later he will stoop to place himself on a level with his children, which will afford a common meeting ground.

It isn't that the woman could or should take up her husband's profession in order to be his companion, though there have been physicians who insisted on their wives studying medicine in order that they should be competent to help them in their studies and their work; but the thing that is demanded of the wife is that she shall work out her own personality, develop whatever talents of mind she may possess, and then "not bury her talents in a napkin," but use them for the good of the home, the family, and the race. To remain on an equal intellectual footing with her husband, the wife must be something more than a mere wife and mother; just as the man is something more than a mere husband and father. We are constantly assured that man has a variegated taste, which he insists on gratifying; it is up to the wife to

have variegated interests in order to supply the demand.

The existence of the ordinary housewife and mother is slavery in its most wretched form; the utter hopelessness of getting anywhere is its most depressing feature. The dull routine of daily life, and knowing that you are making no progress in your work, is the thing that tells on the woman's mentality and nerves. It is a well-known fact that in rehearsing for the public performance of Ben-Hur when it was staged many years ago, some valuable horses went stark mad and had to be shot, simply from the fact that, going at the tremendous pace that they did on the revolving platform, they realized that they were not getting along over the road. The deeper down in the rut the wife gets, the greater is the awful chasm which separates her from her husband.

In the average marriage of to-day love for awhile holds the partners together, while their purposes in life are almost antagonistic; and at some period of their lives most married people have felt the strain of the yoke. To bridge over this natural antagonism between the sexes is their common unity; from the fact that in their heredity there are some masculine traits in every woman and some feminine traits in every man. From the beginning of the human race, when men went hunting and fighting and women stayed at home and kept the hut, tended the children, and cultivated the soil close at hand, man was released from the small menial duties of life, and from his travels and adventures broadened, developed, and investigated the mysteries of life. It is only in recent years that woman has been in even a small measure released from her cramped position. At first she is like the slave set free, too timid to know what to do with her freedom; then when she fully realizes that her

shackles are broken, comes the insane frenzy to copy the ways of man and become a free lance in the world.

The wife and mother has two distinct sets of duties: the first toward her own higher nature—the other toward her home and family. The more highly developed the first is before marriage, so much the happier will be the home; so much more capable will she be of guiding her children and standing at her husband's side. It is the wife who creates the atmosphere of the home; she stands at the helm of the domestic economy that keeps the machinery running so smoothly that the outsider does not realize that it does not run automatically. It is her maternal love and sympathy which keep the family together after her sons are grown up, and makes them prefer to remain in the family circle rather than live at their club. It is their reverence of her and love for her that very often, in the storms and stress of temptation, keep her sons straight. Her keen intuition makes her sensitive to the feeling of weariness and mental depression with which her husband opens the front door. She is there as his consoler and inspirer, encouraging him to brace up to meet the struggles of life. By having herself attained the art of self-mastery and a truly altruistic spirit, she irradiates a spirit of loving sympathy that is so soothing and uplifting to the depressed and weary wanderers from the home. "And her children rise up to call her blessed."

CHAPTER XII

THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD; EUGENIC MARRIAGES; THE LIMITATION OF OFFSPRING

The Child's Right to Choose Its Ancestry; the Right of the Child to Two Parents; Genetics and the Laws Governing Heredity; Active or Dominant Character Units; the Laws of Transmission of Temperament; Disease Transmission: Alcoholism; the Feeble-minded; Morons; Galton's Law of Inheritance; the Ethical Duty of Eugenic Selection to the Child and to the Race; Heredity and Race Culture; Love and Eugenic Marriages; Conjugal Procreation, Its Rights and Duties; the Limitation of Offspring in the Interests of the Child and of the Mother; Quality versus Quantity; a High Infant Mortality Goes with a High Birth-rate.

There is no wealth but life. The true function of the government is the production and recognition of human worth. . . . I hold that the two crowning and most accursed sins of society of the present day, are the carelessness with which it regards the betrayal of women; and the brutality with which it suffers the neglect of children.—Ruskin.

At present the most important profession in the world, that of parenthood is almost entirely carried on by unskilled labor.

Mothers should be in their children's memories, forever a close and warm and tender presence; a garden of delight, a refuge, a tower of strength; a creature nearer than all other creatures, nearer than God, nearer than hands and feet.—Justus Miles Forman.

The child brought into the world without any volition of its own has certain well-defined, inalienable rights; these are basically the rights of good heredity, good environment, and good education. By good heredity is

meant that he should be born of good healthy stock, of good physical constitution, of an average good mentality for his class in life and of good morals. By good environment is meant that he shall be properly cared for during infancy and childhood, properly housed, fed, and clothed, and have a suitable home atmosphere. By good education is meant, that he shall at least have the opportunity of completing a public school education.

It is the duty of the State toward the child, as well as its privilege in considering its own highest interests, to have such laws passed as may be essential for the fulfilment of these high obligations, and to have the general public so educated as to insure the carrying out of these laws. The child is now recognized as the greatest single asset of the nation; three times in a century is the essential wealth of the nation reduced to dust and raised again from helpless infancy. Our urgent business is therefore with the children of the nation.

The Child's Right to Choose Its Ancestry.—We are all what we are more because of heredity, the stream of life which has come down to us through the germ-plasm of our ancestors through eons of ages, than because of our environment. Our relative attitude toward all of the great questions of life has been shaped by this same mighty force.

A man's destiny stands not in the future but in the past; that rightly considered is the most vital of all facts. Thus must be admitted the justice of the child's plea to choose his own ancestors; this of course he can only do vicariously through his parents. This duty of the future father to choose one-half of the ancestral, hereditary character of his future child is one of the most serious and most sacred of his duties in life; it is likewise the most serious and most sacred duty of the future

mother to make a similar wise choice. In choosing each other they have between them chosen the whole ancestry of their child; they have determined the stars which will rule his fate.

In the past that fateful determination has usually been made helplessly, ignorantly, almost unconsciously. It has either been guided by an instinct which has worked out fairly well, or controlled by economic interests, or left to the risks of lower than bestial chances, which can produce nothing but evil. It now becomes the imperative duty of statesmen, social economists, educators, and churchmen that in future the race will be molded by a more intelligent selection in its highest interests; the creative energy of nature becoming self-conscious in the brain of civilization. The problems of the individual life must always be linked with those of racial life, and at all points they converge toward one racial end.

The Right of the Child to Two Parents.—This is such an obvious right of the child, that in a normal state of society its mere mention would be superfluous; but revolutionary doctrines are being promulgated in the name of "individual rights" and "social rights" which would, if generally accepted, undermine all the fundamental principles upon which stable democracies must be founded, making it necessary to point out their evil tendencies.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that durable sexual relationships have generally followed the natural law tending toward monogamy, for the sake of the mother and child. This was partly because of the long period of helplessness of the child and his inability to take care of himself until a certain state of maturity should have been attained. Thus to childhood, helpless and beautiful, we owe marriage and all that growth of morality which

has civilized mankind. The influence of childhood, it has been said, transformed mere animal attraction into unselfish affection; it substituted family life for animal life. The interests of childhood demand that marriage and its responsibilities shall be most seriously regarded.

It is the children who constitute the real phylogenetic and psychologic bonds in marriage and the family; bonds which are deeply rooted in human nature. Two human beings who procreate others contract common duties and responsibilities of the highest importance. They are perhaps the highest social duties man can assume. Is it not then infamous and unnatural to liberate one of the procreators from all responsibilities? Outside of marriage is the man less responsible than the woman? The most elementary natural laws exact that all children should have the same social rights.

In regard to the sufferings of illegitimate children, it lies in the very nature of the illicit bond that the child is deprived of all the benefits of the permanent family ties; this deprivation, with all its tragic consequences, will always throw a shadow over the parent. The sufferings of illegitimate children are therefore very closely bound up with free love; and the more lightly the matter is treated, the more children will be affected.

Nothing could be more extraordinary than the facility of those who aim at loosening the ties of marriage to ignore this most fundamental right of the child to have two parents. They would have the State take over the care of the children, in order that men and women might be more at liberty in their sexual relationships, and more able, as they say, to satisfy the requirements of their individuality.

That is to say that for the parents they demand individualism and the free development of their personality,

while for the children they advocate a governmental upbringing, which would tend in the highest degree toward uniformity and impersonal development, thus injuring in the deepest possible way the very cause in the name of which their theories are advanced. It is the small and intimate circle of the family which guards and develops such manifold deep feelings, and thus most simply and naturally prepares the individual for the larger social life. This must afford to the individual a much richer and more secure development than could be provided by the best possible State institutions and public education, for the latter has no power to produce the incomparable formative influences which attach to the closest of all relationships, with all its wealth of motive and experiences.

It is precisely upon the firm foundation of the family that the education of men and women of great personality rests; not because all parents are such good educators, but because family life as such liberates and brings into play spiritual forces which would remain undeveloped under any system of State upbringing. The monogamous family must therefore always remain the permanent basis of all higher personal and social life.

There are certain permanent conditions without which our social life cannot attain perfection; these conditions are independent of all social changes. They are the deepening of the sense of personal responsibility, the education of the individual in self-discipline, the development of patience and charity, the overcoming of selfishness, the preservation of the emotional life from disintegration and from subjection to passing moods. These are the elements of the inner life which may be described as the absolute and permanent conditions of

all higher social culture, incapable of being reversed by any economic alteration.

The family has been called the cell of social life; it fulfils this function not only in a physical and economic sense, but it is also the center for all human training for social life; that is, for the responsibility, self-control, sympathy, mutual toleration, and mutual education. Life-long monogamic marriage might well be called the conscience of all human social life. Indissoluble marriage is the greatest of all educational forces in making for human earnestness.

Genetics and the Laws Governing Heredity.—Within a generation the center of biologic interest has swung from the origin of the species to the origin of the individual—in other words, to *genetics*. It is not with the individual as a whole that genetics is interested, but rather with characteristics of the individual.

Three factors determine the characteristics of an individual: heredity, environment, and training. The individual is the result of the interaction of these three factors, since he may be modified by changing any one of them. Of these three, the factor of the greatest importance is heredity; it is what he actually is before birth which determines whether he shall be a beast or a man. Environment and training, although indispensable, are secondary factors, while the absence of sufficient training, even when the environment is suitable and the endowment of heritage ample, will result in an individual who will fall short of his possibilities. On the other hand, no amount of education can develop a man out of the heritage of a beast. So in the long run what an individual *is*, is far more important to himself as well as to the race. Improved environment and education will improve the present generation already

born; improved blood will better every generation yet to come.

In forms which reproduce sexually, there occurs theoretically a differentiation of the body substance into what Weismann terms *somatoplasm* and *germ-plasm*. The somatoplasm includes the body tissues or bulk of the individual, which is fated in the course of events to complete a life cycle and then die. The germ-plasm is, on the contrary, the immortal fragment freighted with the power to duplicate the whole organism and which, barring accident, is destined to live on and give rise to new individuals. The germ-plasm thus carries potencies for the development of both germ-plasm and somatoplasm, while according to this conception the somatoplasm has only the power to reproduce more of its own kind.

From the point of view of genetics then the real mission of somatoplasm, which is so marvelously differentiated into all of the various forms which we call plants and animals, is simply to serve as a temporary domicile for the immortal germ-plasm. Thus the parent becomes "the trustee of the germ-plasm," but not the producer of the offspring. Heredity is a matter of continuity between succeeding generations of living organisms.

An organism, although acting together as a physiologic and morphologic whole, may be regarded from the point of view of heredity as consisting of a large number of independent, heritable unit characters.

The characteristics which prevail in crossing pure stocks is known as the *dominant* character, while that which apparently disappears is called the *recessive* or latent character. In the germ-plasm there are certain determiners of unit characters which dominate others

during the development of the somatoplasm; in other words they determine the apparent character of the organism by causing that character to become visible.

The followers of Mendel hold that the individual is made up of unit characters, each of which is transmitted through inheritance, quite independently of the others.

Organic resemblances based on descent are due principally to the fact that the offspring are the material continuations of their parents, and consequently may be expected to be like them. Hence the formula that like produces like. This does not always prove true; for example, two brown-eyed parents may produce a blue-eyed child, although brown-eyed children are more common from such heritage.

Weismann believes that the cause of these variations, at least of heritable variations, are intrinsic or born in the germ-plasm. His conception for sexual reproduction is that it is a device for doubling the possible variations in the offspring by the mingling of two strains of germ-plasm. This belief is substantiated by a great number of observations.

Since the character units of both parents are transmitted, it is the duty of each to become conservant before marriage with their respective or transmissible traits or character units, not only as existing in the immediate contracting parties, but, if possible, as they have existed in their ancestors. Further, since the character units do not blend, but co-exist, and if some are active or apparent and others are inactive or not apparent, it follows that the character and significance of a hidden (inactive or recessive) character unit may be determined by its previous manifestations in connection with the same germ-plasm in the previous generation. In other words, it is just here that pedigree comes to

have a serious meaning. If, by the conveyance and co-existence of known character units derived from parents, the character, physical, mental, and moral, of the offspring can even be approximately determined (and it can) the responsibility of parents, first to their offspring, next to themselves, and finally to the State and nation, becomes doubly acute. It is to this standard of ethics and to this conception of morality that society is rapidly becoming educated, by both of which the parents of to-day will be estimated by their progeny of to-morrow.

When two human sex cells, each in reality a half-cell, unite to form the fertilized ovum, two lines of descent are thus brought into relation, and, barring accident, their continuance is thus assured for another generation.

The body or soma is merely the carrier of the sex cells with which rest the inheritance of all future individuals in a given line of descent. The human egg is very minute and the human sperm cell is but a fractional part as large. The marked difference in the size and shape is due to the fact that the egg contains a supply of food, while the sperm cell is so constructed as to have the power of locomotion. The nucleus of each is practically identical; and this is the part of the cell with which we are concerned in heredity.

The interesting, important, and accepted conclusion accordingly is that the child does not inherit anything from the body of the parent, but that the child and the parent resemble one another only because they have each inherited something from the same continuous stream of germ-plasm.

The first principle of the Mendelian law is that the individual's inheritance consists of various traits or unit characters, which are for the most part independ-

ently inherited; characters that are structural, physiologic, mental, and moral in nature, such as tallness, brown eye-pigment, strong lung tissue, etc. The second principle is that for a character to appear in a body it must previously be represented by a so-called determiner, in one or both of the sexual cells that united in the fertilization of the ovum. The third principle is that the various determiners present in the sperm and egg, which unite at fertilization, retain their identity, and when the sex cells are formed, they in turn receive the contribution from each ancestral line, independently of the other.

A racial quality is therefore one that is inherited; one that has its basis in the germ-plasm. Since racial qualities or characters are then wholly dependent on the nature of the germ-plasm or sex cells, the improvement of the race will consist wholly in establishing a higher average of humanity. The only logical method of accomplishing this task is to bring about such social and economic conditions as will enable more germ-plasm of good quality to perpetuate itself and will prevent the continuance of germ-plasm which is known to have serious defects or very bad qualities.

The person who receives a determiner from each parent for a character is said to be duplex in that respect; the person who receives a determiner from one parent only is said to be simplex; and the person who does not receive a determiner for a character is said to be nulliplex. Thus in regard to a single characteristic that is dominant, or nearly so, the bodies of individuals are of two kinds: either they show or they do not show the character.

Of an apparent pair of opposing characters, one belonging to either parent, that one is dominant which

appears in the offspring to the exclusion of the other. With some characters dominance is quite complete, as was the case with those peas with which Mendel experimented. He found, for example, that when a pure or duplex tall individual was mated with a dwarf variety, all of their offspring were tall, like the one parent. When two of the offspring mated, in this case they were allowed to be self-fertilized, the individuals of the second generation were both tall and dwarf, in the proportion of three tall to one dwarf. The dwarf when mated with dwarf would produce only dwarf offspring.

Barring a few sex-limited characters, as for example color-blindness, the two sexes are equal in their power to transmit heritable traits; and the inequality of a pair of parents is alone dependent on the fact that one comes from an inferior strain. Like does not of necessity produce like, since in a simplex person a recessive character that does not appear in the body of the parent will nevertheless be passed on in that individual's germ cells; hence it is necessary to know the history of at least three generations in order to form an idea of what an individual may transmit to offspring.

Finally, the recent progress in determining the facts of heredity convince scientists that the human germplasm is already in possession of enough racial qualities of value to satisfy the most ardent eugenist. On the other hand, they are convinced that our greatest social evils, mental defectiveness, moral degeneracy, pauperism, drunkenness, and physical weakness, are likewise dependent on the nature of the germ-plasm.

Hereditary resemblance is due to the derivation of the offspring from the same stock as the parent; and successive generations are therefore simply periodic expressions of the same continuous stream of germ-plasm.

Perfect inheritance or uniformity of generations does not exist, since variations always occur in successive generations. It is upon these variations that evolution depends; without them there would be no change of type and consequently no possibility of evolutionary advance.

Active or Dominant Character Units.—General physical energy is recognized by students of heredity as a transmissible trait. The following conclusions are justified: (1) Parents of high bodily energy have a progeny that range from medium to high; (2) parents of low bodily energy, and belonging to a family of low bodily energy, have a progeny that range from medium to low energy; (3) when one parent is high and the other low, but having a high energy ancestry, the children will be about 50 per cent. high and 50 per cent. medium to low energy.

Mental ability is recognized as a transmissible trait; it is always relative to the age of the subject and to the average ability of that age. The following are confirmed generalizations: (1) When both parents are mentally defective, all of the children will be defective or degenerate; (2) when both parents are mentally strong, but have a strain of ancestral weakness, one-fourth of their offspring will be defective; (3) when both parents are mentally strong and are themselves the offspring of mentally strong parents, all of the children will range from medium to very high mentality; (4) exceptional talents or genius, occurring in a generation of mediocrity with mediocre antecedents, is generally associated with some compensatory mental defect; (5) exceptional talents, genius, and a certain type of feeble-mindedness (Mongolianism) occur more frequently in the oldest and youngest than in the intermediary children.

Psychopathic Complex.—This is a temperamental type, generally characterized by great mental activity, with a tendency to slight mental perturbation. It is generally associated with the so-called nervous type. The marriage of normals to psychopaths is hazardous; the marriage of two psychopaths to each other should never occur.

The Laws of the Transmission of Temperament.—Temperament is a transmissible unit. It is a permanent condition of the individual which determines his manner of thought and actions. The nervous temperament is characterized by keen perceptions, quick mental processes, and physical alertness, each tending to develop to an abnormal degree in which buoyancy tends to alternate with fits of depression of spirits. The phlegmatic character, on the other hand, is characterized by slow though by no means less accurate perceptions, more deliberate, probably more logical mental processes, and without precipitate physical activity; and with little or no tendency to either exaltation or depression of spirits.

(1) When both parents are nervous the children will be nervous; (2) when both parents are phlegmatic, the children will tend toward the phlegmatic type; (3) when one parent is nervous and the other phlegmatic, the children will be preponderatingly nervous; (4) when both parents are nervous, with phlegmatic ancestry, probably one-fourth of the children will be phlegmatic. The extremes of temperament are agenic in tendency and marriage is not desirable.

Consanguinity.—It is the hereditary transmissibility of certain predispositions to disease and malformations which constitute the danger of procreation among blood relations. Such procreation is not *per se* injurious, or

only so when it is continued through many generations, in which case marriage may prove sterile. The disadvantage lies in the fact that near relations possess the same inherited predispositions, and that a combination of these injurious influences may attack the embryo. On the other hand, there is an unfavorable element in the union of two individuals who spring from races too widely separated, as is proved by the limited fruitfulness of such marriages; for example, those between Jews and Christians.

Disease Transmission; Alcoholism.—When alcoholism runs in a family, it is probably due to the fact that the son is derived from the same strain of germ-plasm as his father or mother. The fact that the father succumbed to the alcohol habit is not the determining cause of alcoholism in the son; the same thing which caused the father to become alcoholic, namely weak germ-plasm, and not the resulting drunkenness in the parent, is the causal factor of alcoholism in the son.

At the same time it is entirely probable that hereditary alcoholism may, in some cases, arise through "parallel induction," that is to say, acquired alcoholism may end in the simultaneous poisoning and consequent modification of both the somatoplasm and the germ-plasm of the parent, with the result that the germ-plasm has less resistance to alcoholism in a succeeding generation. The offspring are consequently more likely to succumb to this disease.

The Feeble-minded.—Mental defectives are not to be confused with the insane, epileptics, and others who may have reached a normal development and later have become diseased. At one extreme of the feeble-minded stands the idiot, who may be absolutely incapable of attending to his physical wants, and who is recognized

by all at a glance; while at the other extremity of this group stands the high-grade imbecile or *moron*, whose appearance may give no indication of his mentality, as he may even have likeable and pleasing features.

In the matter of the mentally defective, there should be some means of recognizing this before the age of puberty. If the Binet-Simon test for determining intelligence, which is adapted to children up to the age of fifteen years, were given to a high-grade imbecile, it would show him to be four years or more below the mentality of the normal child of the same age.

The high- and low-grade imbeciles constitute the class from which are recruited the juvenile offenders; those who start fires, commit petty thefts, repeatedly are moral offenders, and those who commit murder through their lack of self-control or at the suggestion of others. These are the ones who frequently intermarry with the lower strata of the self-supporting group, or otherwise mate with mentally normal people. Strains which have a normal mentality are thus contaminated.

It is estimated that in the United States there are three hundred thousand persons who are feeble-minded. Fully two hundred thousand are sufficiently intelligent to earn a livelihood; this is probably a minimal figure. Moreover, in the tide of immigration which was allowed to pour into this country before the war, recent investigations have shown that from 6 to 7 per cent. were feeble-minded.

In the United States less than 10 per cent. are in institutions, and then only for the purpose of training them, or as charity, not as a protection to society, for it is frequently just about the time that they reach the reproductive age, that they leave those institutions. Consequently, of the 90 per cent. who are at large,

many thousands of the younger ones are indiscriminately associated with normal children in our public schools, where they are a constant source of trouble to teachers, preventing normal children from progressing as rapidly as they otherwise would, if the school were free from the mental defectives. Much more serious than either of these effects is the very grave menace, not yet fully realized by the public, in the contamination of the moral habits of normal children through association with these degenerates.

Two methods have been suggested for the permanent elimination of the unfit, which can be applied to the mentally defective; permanent custodial care by the State and sterilization. The Federal as well as the State government is not exempt from responsibility in these conditions.

Morons.—This is, as has already been pointed out, a high-grade class of mental defectives which is so closely allied to feeble-mindedness that many experts insist that it cannot occur without its mental cognate, moral imbecility. Moral obliquity must affect character, whether we believe that nervous derangements or mental aberrations do or not. In the words of the Royal Commission: "The moral imbecile is a person who, by reason of arrested development or disease of the brain, dating from birth or early years, displays at an early age vicious or criminal propensities which are incorrigible or unusual in nature, and are generally associated with some slight limitation of intellect."

The moral imbecile is as distinctive, as a type, as a mental imbecile; both are defective from birth. The moral imbecile may either be deficient in the moral sense, meaning by this that he cannot intuitively distinguish between right and wrong; or he may not have the mental

power to choose the right means to an ethical end; or lastly he may lack certain social impulses, so that he cannot by the utmost training be made fit for modern society. He is a born defective, just as if he lacked legs or arms.

The girl may be attractive, healthy looking, with some pleasing qualities and accomplishments, but with a mental defect which makes it impossible to expect a wholly normal intellectual development. In a way, so far as society and the race are concerned, this class of morons is a serious menace, because they are often able to conceal their gross defects from their general acquaintances; their moral defects may be concealed by a compensatory brightness in some other direction, as in the fields of art or music.

Galton's Law of Inheritance.—(1) The two parents between them contribute, on the average, one-half of each inherited faculty; each one contributing one-fourth of it; (2) the four grandparents contribute between them one-fourth, or each individual one-sixteenth; (3) the eight great-grandparents contribute one-eighth, or each one of them about one-sixty-fourth, etc.

So that in order to forecast a child's destiny it is necessary to know about the stock from which the parents are descended, as well as about the parents themselves.

This law of Galton's is one of the most important generalizations that has been offered in human breeding, *i.e.*, the germ cell is the summation of its racial antecedents derived in certain more or less definite proportions, from each member of the preceding ancestral generations.

From their study of heredity and insanity Rosanoff and Orr have arrived at the following conclusions: (1) Both parents being neuropathic, all of their children will be neuropathic. (2) One parent being normal, but

with neuropathic taint from one grandparent, and the other parent being neuropathic; half of the children will be neuropathic and the other half normal, but with the capability of transmitting the neuropathic make-up to their progeny. (3) One parent being normal and of pure normal ancestry and the other being neuropathic, all of their children will be normal, but capable of transmitting the neuropathic make-up to their progeny. (4) Both parents being normal, but each with the neuropathic taint from one grandparent, one-fourth of the children will be normal and not capable of transmitting the neuropathic make-up to their progeny; one-half will be normal, but capable of transmitting the neuropathic make-up; and the remaining fourth will be neuropathic. (5) Both parents being normal, one of pure normal ancestry and the other with a neuropathic taint from one grandparent, all of the children will be normal; half of them will be capable and half of them will be incapable of transmitting the neuropathic make-up to their progeny. (6) Both parents being normal and of pure normal ancestry all of the children will be normal and incapable of transmitting the neuropathic make-up to their progeny.

In order to boast of good stock it is therefore necessary to have a history of at least three successive generations among whom there were no defective unit characters.

The Ethical Duty of Eugenic Selection to the Child and to the Race.—Parenthood should be regarded as exercising the highest, holiest, and most important function of the race. The past has been made for us by our ancestors, but we ourselves are responsible for the future of the race. The generations to come will have cause to bless or to curse us, according to the lives that we live and according to the care with which young men and young women select their life mates.

Each individual is possessed of a multitude of hereditary characters, part of which are dominant, and so known to himself, and part of which are recessive or latent and so may be wholly unsuspected; with potentialities and abilities which only await a favorable means of development, together with other potentialities which must be struggled against. For this reason, in order to know ourselves, we must make a careful study of our ancestry and not be afraid to look the truth in the face. This is the only way in which a man will be able to master the beast which is in him. This is a duty which everyone owes to society and to himself.

It is a social obligation of the fit, of those who have inherited good traits of constitution, of mentality, and morality, to transmit this hereditary germ-plasm, of which he is but the trustee, to succeeding generations. No man or woman with a splendid heritage has a moral right to cut off such possibilities from the heritage of the race. If, on the other hand, the heritage has been defective, he should make the best of it for himself; but it is frequently the most serious duty not to transmit any such defective germ-plasm to succeeding generations.

Having solved this problem of one's individual duty to himself and to the race, the next step, if one's heredity is good, is that of selecting a life mate. Here is where so many men and women fail in their duty to themselves, as well as toward their prospective children.

Dr. Victor C. Vaughan cites the following case as typical of the intermarriage of a healthy man with the moron type of girl: "The female moron is a kind of salamander, especially when of high grade, and in early womanhood is often very attractive. Her face has the doll-like loveliness so fatal to the susceptibilities of man. In form and carriage she is, to her admirer, a goddess.

He interprets her weak-mindedness as maidenly innocence, and he says to himself and sometimes to others: 'She is the daintiest, sweetest and most innocent creature in the world. She never suspects any wrong, and she loves me so dearly that she would do anything that I might ask. She is my darling little girl.'

"It is true that she is a little girl and she will never be anything more. She is an animated doll, and like her prototype, the bloom on her cheek will soon fade away and her gay raiment will soon become tawdry. Her vine-like, clinging love will entwine her admirer or any other post within her reach." Then Dr. Vaughan goes on to speak of families going to pot because some of the sons marry silly girls.

"Social duty has compelled me," he says, "more than once to witness the marriage of such a butterfly to a high-grade man; and when the beautiful ceremony reached the words: 'If any man can show just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together,' etc., I have been compelled to suppress a desire to cry out against the outrage. Every physician of years of experience knows how disastrously such marriages end." He cites the following cases:

"Some forty years ago a brilliant young man of high character met, admired, and wed such a girl as I have described. Both were poor; but this was an advantage rather than otherwise; for he was unusually equipped for his profession, both by nature and by education. He had bright dreams and the ability to weave the gossamer of their structure into a real fiber. But there was one picture in his dreams, as he stood at the altar with his fair bride, which no power on earth could bring to realization. He dreamed of winning a competency, if not a fortune; of becoming a leader amongst his fellow

men; of professional fame; of rendering the highest and best service to his fellowmen; and the central figure in all of these visions of the future was the wife of whom he should always be proud, who should stand at his side, at all times his equal; and who should bear to him strong, manly sons and fair, intelligent daughters.

"He won more than competency; there was no official position within the gift of his state which was not within his reach; his professional services were sought both by rich and poor. Living he was honored, beloved; dead his memory is held in the highest esteem. All of these victories he won; and at the same time he carried a heavy load. His wife never grew mentally. He bought and read the choicest books. She dusted and arranged them on the shelves; but of their contents she was as ignorant as of Hebrew. Intelligent men and women sat at their table; but their conversation was beyond her comprehension.

"To this union came three sons. The eldest, even with the help of a tutor, was never able to finish the high-school course. In early manhood he married a fellow moron; and they are now multiplying their kind on a farm given him by his father. The second is more intelligent; after a university career, broken by drunken sprees, he managed to secure a degree; and he now occupies his father's office, but not his position in life. The third is hardly able to take care of himself."

"I speak with some feeling on this subject; because I have known former students of mine to tie this millstone about their necks and then try to keep on the surface of the sea of life. After vain struggles most of them sink out of sight. Shun the attractive, frivolous girl. She is to be found in every community. The object of

the eugenist is not to multiply her kind, but to exterminate her."

"*The Reformed (?) Rake.*—The following picture, also taken from real life, shows the other side of the shield; where the judgment of the young woman and her parents was at fault. A young woman married a rich man, who had escaped from the rigid home discipline and sowed his wild oats with a prodigal hand in widely scattered fields. His dissipation did not stop with marriage, but he took this opportunity to add new transgressions to the list. The man ran through the whole gamut of vices, which eat through a wife's social veneer and let the world stare at her bare soul. Her face took on the hopeless look of the bound prisoner. Her woman's heart hunger for happiness suffered to the limit and then died. She neither sorrowed nor rejoiced when the man ran through one awful last debauch and escaped public disgrace by blowing out his diseased brains.

"Then his widow turned wholly to her sons and saw them grow into two physically handsome boys, full of life and promise. But about twelve years of age, the oldest began to exhibit the first evidence that his mother had married a rich young man who had lead a wild life. The boy shirked study, became disobedient, forsook his rightful companions and sought out companionship with low fellows, black and white; played truant and finally developed an uncontrollable habit of stealing money. He himself said that 'something seemed to make him take it.' Needless to say the money went for nothing good.

"The wife's grief-deadened soul revived in the infinitely sharper agonies of the mother. She found that fate could wring agony from new chords, when old ones ceased to vibrate. She learned that a girl who binds her

life to a man by human laws, at the same time binds by infinitely sterner laws beings for whom she would gladly later lay down her wretched life to set them free. This is the judgment of life upon men and women who marry only with the thought of their own immediate happiness."

Heredity and Race Culture.—The incontrovertible fact must always be borne in mind that like tends to produce like; and it is on this ground that young men and young women having the best hereditary qualities must not only regard it as their privilege but their duty to marry, and as the trustees of the highest gift in nature, to hand down through the ages that splendid inheritance which has come to them. Eugenics must further inculcate the ideal of the fruitful marriages of our best stock.

Many of our best young men and young women in the colleges and in their professional careers have their personal ambitions so aroused as to seriously question if marriage and the raising of a family will not interfere with the highest realizations of their ambitions. This very subject was once the topic of discussion among a group of Harvard graduates seated around a dinner table, and a distinguished German professor who was present urgently advised against marriage for those who wished to gain preëminence in their professional careers.

Many an eminent man at the beginning of his life-work has vowed, as did Judge John Lowell, when he graduated from Harvard at the middle of the eighteenth century, that he would never marry. But nature was too strong for John Lowell, and he married three times. Among his descendants were many brilliant and illustrious men, in every walk of life. If any man could look ahead and see such a heritage as this for his progeny, if he could see what they would accomplish for the race,

surely he must be convinced that no matter how great a success he himself might attain; in his brief lifetime he could not accomplish an infinitesimal part as much for mankind. The greatest stimulant to the human intellect, to human energies, is the incentive of creative genius; not for the sake of that genius *per se*, but for the sake of the great masses of mankind, who will be influenced and benefited by the work so accomplished. Invaluable as marriage is for the completion and ennoblement of the individual, its great function for society and the race is its relation to childhood. Among all the works of man, the greatest is himself. Man's works disappear, but he himself endures.

Love and Eugenic Marriages.—The logical conclusion of all that has gone before is that eugenic marriages, based on love, furnish the only certain means for the attainment of the durable love and happiness of the conjoints, and the production of the best possible progeny.

Marriage must always continue to be "for the mutual society, help and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other," and for the propagation, not of any kind of children, but of *the best possible progeny*. This is in the highest interest of the family, the State, and of the race. Eugenics recognizes love as the highest and noblest quality, and as a cardinal factor in the achievement of its ideal; but it would have love *intelligent*. An environment devoid of parental love is inadequate for the full development of the innate mental and moral possibilities; and so it has been urged that the matter of durable love should be taken into greater consideration and human parentage must be made conscious and deliberate.

It is evident that as long as the institution of marriage

remains in human society, the stream of life must flow through this institution. Practically, therefore, the eugenic movement aims at the control of this institution, in order to improve the racial qualities of future generations; thus securing wise marriages in society from the biologic standpoint. The stream of life can be polluted in two ways: at its source and along its course.

To this end both young men and young women must at a very early age be given the right ideals of marriage and parenthood. The ideals that now exist of beauty, social position, and wealth, must be replaced by intellectual ability, good health, and high moral character. There must furthermore be an education for parenthood; not only practical training in the rearing of the young, but also instruction of the proper sort along lines of heredity, sex morality, and the importance of the family.

Galton says: "The power of social opinion is apt to be underrated, rather than overrated. Like the atmosphere which we breathe and by which we live, social opinion acts powerfully on us, without our being conscious of its existence. Everyone knows that governments, manners and beliefs, which were thought to be right, decorous, and true at one period, have been judged to be wrong, indecorous, and false at another; and that views which we have heard expressed by those in authority over us in childhood and early youth, tended to become axiomatic and unchangeable in mature life."

If a girl is taught to look upon a certain class of men as tabooed, whether owing to rank, creed, connections, or any other causes, she does not see among them a possible husband and turns her thoughts elsewhere.

There can be no question that the eugenic purpose, as well as the happiness and welfare of the individuals, will be greatly served by whatever measures increase to

the utmost possible extent the opportunities for choice in marriage afforded to both men and women. There is a eugenic argument in favor of community of sports and amusements among the young people of both sexes, because it tends to widen the field of choice in marriage. In so doing it also tends to favor the factors of selection, which would be for the welfare of the race; and the basis of selection which would be here made is incomparably higher than that made in the ball-room. It is undoubtedly true that the personal factors, physical and psychic, which determine the mutual attraction of young people, have dependent on them the whole of the human destiny. The young people should meet under conditions which make prominent the psychic, and place the merely physical or animal in the background; for example, on the hockey field, on the ice, or in the literary circle, rather than in the ball-room. Since the majority of marriages are the result of propinquity, parents should be most careful about the friendships which are formed by their sons and daughters; refinement of taste and high ideals will be the best safeguard in this respect.

Finally, the more or less instinctive selection in marriage, now too much in vogue, should yield to a more intelligent choice of mates for the perpetuation of the race, which should be based on fortifying the hallowed sentiments of love on the ample basis of human experience. The appeal to love should be broader and deeper and should be based quite as much, if not more, on those qualities, hidden or obvious, which have been bred into the individual, rather than upon mere beauty, wealth, or culture. Love must be big enough to embrace a consideration for the welfare and happiness of the unborn.

Reason and conscience are great gifts, but as we have already noted, they are in need of training, purification, and liberation. Now if the ideal of which everyone is unconsciously in search, is built upon the solid foundation of common sense and a high sense of duty to the future offspring, men and women will not go very far afield in their selection of a life-mate. In the past it has been the intense selfishness of both men and women that has wrought so much havoc to the family and to the race; this must eventually react ruinously on the conjoints themselves.

The application of the eugenic principles must apply primarily to the fitness or unfitness of the individual to marry anybody; and then the fitness or unfitness of two people to marry each other. That is to say, whether these two young people are physically, morally, socially, intellectually, and spiritually real affinities, whose two lives blended together in marriage will develop into one perfect whole. That is the first proposition. The second and equally vital proposition is the question of the heredity which the union of these two people will give to their offspring.

In the majority of cases young people fall gradually in love; now, before this state of affairs has been reached, it is the duty of the parents to inquire not merely into the health, character, and capability of these respective young persons, but also in regard to their heredity. The "Keystone state" was wise in establishing the tradition that the first question asked in regard to a stranger is, "Who was her grandfather?" And before permitting a betrothal there should be an interchange of health certificates from a State medical examiner based on the history, present physical condition, and their heredity.

The State should forbid the issuance of a marriage certificate without the production of these two health certificates. Eugenics is only effective if applied to normal stock, and if persons make use of its conclusions in selecting marriage mates.

Conjugal Procreation: Its Rights and Duties.—We have now reached the trinity of father, mother, and child; the interest of each member of this group is now involved in the question of procreation. We will suppose that both father and mother are eugenically fit for the procreation of the species. The interests of the child are paramount and must first be considered; next in importance come the interests of the mother as the center of the family life and stability, and finally the interests of the father as the one on whom rests the responsibility of providing for his family.

1. The Limitation of Offspring in the Interests of the Child.—A new-born infant is one of the most perfect masterpieces of the eternal creative forces of nature. The first hours and the first days after the birth of a child mean to the father, who is really conscious of his fatherhood, the climax of parental feeling. To give life to a human being is so serious a matter that the mere thought of the responsibility thus admitted may well be profoundly alarming; although it must be admitted that few men of our own day are much preoccupied by such considerations.

Eugenics stands for the principles of heredity, the principles that the right children shall be born. The campaign against infant mortality stands for a good environment, so that when children are born they may thrive as well as survive. No infant can thrive unless it is born in a good environment; the two campaigns are then strictly complementary. But the fact must be

well stamped on the human consciousness that the time for eugenics is before conception; for from this moment a new individual has been formed, a new, living, human individual; and this being is sacred and its destruction is murder.

Here is the beginning of ethics. What right have we, with this law of cause and effect, with the law of human breeding, with the law of heredity to guide us; what right have we to bring into the world a progeny unfit for the struggle? What moral right have we to impose existence upon offspring, when by virtue of these laws, we know in advance that in the unequal conflict for existence such offspring is foredoomed to pain, misery, and abnormal death? If we allow ourselves to follow our primitive impulses, untempered and unguided by intelligence with which we are surrounded, we make ourselves responsible for sending such strains of degeneracy down through succeeding generations.

Everywhere a cry of alarm goes up at the diminished birthrate, but again the pendulum has swung in the direction given it by Malthus, whose theory was the limitation of the population in accordance with the means of subsistence. He formulated the axiom that the best population was not necessarily the largest, any more than it was the smallest; but it was that population which was the best nourished, the most industrious, and the most moral. Increase in numbers was good, and it was only good so far as was consistent with the quality of the population. A number of writers believe that the diminished birth-rate is in the main due to the greater prudence of parents, and not because of their degenerated physique; that it is a necessary factor in the advance of civilization among nations.

On the other hand it cannot be gainsaid that venereal

disease is a very sensible factor; it is responsible for 25 per cent. of the sterility in men and for more than 50 per cent. of the involuntary sterility in women, to say nothing of the one-child sterility. These factors, which make for involuntary sterility are of serious importance, but the most potent reasons for the limitation of the birth-rate are to be found in the personal preferences of the individual and in economic compulsion.

The pernicious results of improvident procreation are especially clear from the standpoint of racial hygiene and eugenics. A limitation of the number of offspring is essential to the economic equilibrium of the family. This applies, above all, to the poorer classes of the population. If the food supply of a household is barely sufficient for four persons, the increase of the family to eight will result in a definite insufficiency of nourishment. In such cases economic poverty also degenerates into moral poverty. Even in those families which are sufficiently well off to be independent of such considerations for their grosser material needs, the parents must not forget the responsibility to their children and their descendants which they may incur by a further division of their patrimony.

Finally, so far as the interests of the children are concerned, a limitation of offspring must be further motived by a sense of responsibility aroused by the observations of the fact that when women have many children, child mortality becomes excessively high.

2. The Limitation of Offspring in the Interests of the Mother.—A too-frequent or too-rapid succession of childbirth, especially in the proletariat, leads, to an excessive and premature decay of the woman concerned, while a diminution in the birth-rate leads often to a *decline* in the mortality.

Moreover, the type of woman continually engaged in child-bearing is a primitive one, out of harmony with the needs and ideas of modern civilization. Even as few as six pregnancies that go to full term rob a woman of about ten of the best, most productive, and most enjoyable years of her life. Experience shows that "eternal mothers" rarely rise above a certain routine in the upbringing of their children and the care of their households. The reason is obvious; no time has been left them for the cultivation of such gifts as they may possess as educators or organizers. They rarely rise above the crudest and coarsest methods in their childrens' education. It is evidently easier to provide a clear-sighted affection and a wisely conceived and individualized upbringing for two or three children than it is for eight or nine.

All that weakens the organism of the parents reacts in the majority of cases in a deteriorating manner on the descendants also, particularly if the mother is delicate. This may have either one of two causes: the ovum possesses little vitality, or the nutrition of the embryo is insufficient. The maternal organism suffers in a manner calculated to injure the descendants where the pregnancies follow each other too rapidly, or where they are too numerous.

Statistics of infant mortality show that on the average the third and fourth child of the same mother are the strongest; and beginning with the fifth, sometimes with the fourth, their vitality diminishes pretty rapidly. The unfavorable influences are especially great where the pregnancies follow each other more rapidly than at intervals of two and one-half years. Only thus is it possible for a mother to suckle her offspring sufficiently long.

The fact that the younger children are weaker than the older ones is partly due to economic conditions. The greater the number of children, the more difficult it is to provide them with sufficient and good nourishment and bring them up with the necessary care. For this reason also the unrestrained procreation of children among the proletariat is open to objection. There should be no more children brought into the world than can presumably be fed and clothed.

To the duty of the voluntary limitation of procreation, a duty imposed by a sense of responsibility, corresponds the *right* to the voluntary limitation of procreation as the complement to the right of the free development of one's own personality. Every human being has the right to really live and enjoy some of the comforts and pleasures of life; in this we recognize the elementary law of humanity. The failure to procreate harms no one, and the parents can never lose their moral rights by the use of artificial means for the prevention of conception, to hinder an imaginary child from becoming actual. This follows in the last analysis from the elementary right each one has to regulate his own existence according to his own will. While in certain cases there exists a duty to prevent conception, there exists in every case the right to do so.

In the great majority of cases the artificial limitation of the family will result from serious motives, such as the fear of procreating diseased children, from economic considerations, from the dread lest the too great number of children will so sap the vital energies of the parents that they will be compelled to renounce all the enjoyments of life, to which every human being has an incontestable right.

It is despicable to bring children into the world without

having provided guarantees for their living reception, and without securing the probability that they will have a tolerable existence.

Quality versus Quantity.—The population of France some forty years ago consisted of so many millions of units. The figure does not matter; let us put it at thirty millions and one. Now that one was, so to say, Louis Pasteur; and from the point of view of statistics or those who think that they can predict history by counting heads, he was an almost infinitesimal fraction, about one-thirty millionth part of the French people. Yet, as Huxley long ago pointed out, his mind sufficed to pay the entire indemnity exacted from France after the Franco-Prussian war. This single unit was worth more than a host of soldiers of the merely mechanical kind. All history teaches that the quality of the individual is everything; and that quantity is nothing or far worse than nothing, except in so far as it is quantity of quality.

As a general summary we may say that the diminution of the offspring is a three-fold gain to the species: (1) It lessens the vital drain upon the parent; (2) it enables the size and capacity of the limited number of offspring to be increased; (3) in the case of the higher parental care after birth it concentrates that attention upon a few instead of scattering it, thereby weakening its influence upon many.

The human individual is being studied as if he were something worth while in himself. His happiness is seen to spring from what he is, not from what he owns. The child especially is assuming his place as the end and purpose of all social arrangements, and not as a painful incident in human growth. He is placed where nature placed him, as all-important; his care comes first; he

must be well-born. A certain number of babies are healthy at birth; a certain other proportion was definitely and obviously unhealthy at birth, while we kill outright hundreds of thousands every year and damage far more for life, including a very large proportion of those who still later become parents.

A High Infant Mortality Habitually Goes with a High Birth-rate.—Not only is this so in all human society, but in all living species. Many people have yet to appreciate the fact that until we have learned how to keep alive all the healthy babies that are born; that is to say not less than 90 per cent. of all, the babies in the slums included; it is monstrous to cry for more children to be similarly slain.

Education in its full sense, the provision of environment, is a mighty and necessary force, for nothing but potentiality is given at birth; but no education will avail unless these potentialities are worthy. If then these babies at birth differ widely from each other as they do; if these differences are capable of prediction in terms of heredity; if the future state of mankind is involved in these differences, which in turn will be transmitted to the children of such of them as become parents; and if this business of parentage will be confined to only a small percentage of these babies, *of whom one-third will be dead within five years;* and these things are so; cannot these babies be chosen in anticipation, there being thus effected an enormous vital economy. What man can do for plants and animals cannot he do for himself? Obviously the effective means for multiplication is not a high birth-rate, but a low death-rate. Human population continues to increase, notwithstanding any decrease in the birth-rate.

That poverty is the great underlying reason for the

death of approximately three hundred thousand babies yearly in the United States, is the general conclusion which stands out clearly from the first of a series of infant mortality studies in 1915, compiled under the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor of which Miss Julia C. Lathrop is the head.

The general indication from this first study is that poverty is at the bottom of this high infant mortality rate. There is a coincidence of the underpaid fathers, overworked and ignorant mothers, and those hazards to the life of babies which individual fathers and mothers cannot control or avoid, because they must be remedied by community action. It all points to an imperative need of ascertaining a standard of life for the American family which must rest on such betterment of the conditions of work and pay as will permit parents to safeguard their children within the home. This whole subject of infant mortality is of profound social importance; and we now know that it is preventable waste.

In conclusion, in view of the fact that epoch-making research in genetics is in progress and there is such a general awakening to social conditions, the next few years seem to be a most critical time for the diffusion of accurate ideas concerning eugenics. Hence the overwhelming need of informing people generally concerning the present knowledge of heredity, and impressing upon them that eugenics is the study of human inheritance and the application of its principles through socially controlled agencies. This brings us back to the proposition of Malthus: "Population is inevitably limited to the means of subsistence. Beyond a certain point, a rise in the birth-rate entails a rise in the death-rate and a fall in the average standard of living."

CHAPTER XIII

WOMAN'S ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE FAMILY

The Tradition and Sanctity of the Family; the Status of the Mother of the Family; the State versus Paternal Authority; the Family in Relation to Property; the Effect on the Stability of the Family of Woman's Economic Dependence; Secondary Female Characteristics that Make for the Stability of the Family; the Maternal Instinct; Woman as the Mother of the Race; the Reflex Action of Woman's Economic Independence on her Functions as Wife and Mother; the Critical or Dangerous Age; the Goal of Social Evolution in Respect to the Family.

I never knew a virture or a vice which had a gender. The old passion for defining woman's sphere as something different from man's is growing obsolete. In place is the growing recognition of the close kinship of the sexes. Woman to reach the highest type of her development needs something of the masculine superadded to her feminity, just as man if he would sound the best chords that are in him, needs something of the feminine. I mean that the ideal woman should have her gentleness, her patience, her motherliness, clothed with the strength, the high sense of honor, the intelligence, the rectitude of the male. And on the other hand what man is there who does not fall short of his highest development if his nature is lacking in tenderness, the patience, the trustfulness, that are considered by the old idealists purely feminine qualities?—Mrs. Francis Hodgson Burnett.

The most important work in life for which men felt themselves unequal, they left to women, the work of training the mind and character of generation after generation through the most impres-

sionable years. Then for fear their power would slip from them entirely, they took the reins of government and kept them jealously in their own hands. Throughout history superior brute force alone has ever won the right of a voice in the ruling of a nation; and this is one quality that woman lacks because of the reason of her sex.

The fallacy that woman's economic independence would lead to the disintegration of the family has been assumed by man, not because experience has proved such to be the case, but because of man's failure to grasp the fundamental basis of woman's nature of which the strong sexual and maternal instincts are the most characteristic and ineradicable by any process of training or work, whether intellectual, professional, scientific, or vocational; or by the attainment of any height of economic independence.

Since science and the Great War have united to break down primitive man's untenable syllogisms as to woman's physical, intellectual, religious, and political inabilities, the inevitable result must be woman's enfranchisement and economic independence.

One of the basic questions for early consideration and settlement in the New Democracy will be the readjustment of the relations of the sexes along rational and normal lines. Are marriage and the family slated for disintegration, as institutions peculiar to an effete civilization? That will depend on whether marriage and the family are artificial products of man's autocratic rule or whether they constitute an integral and fundamental expression of the relation of the sexes to each other and their progeny.

The Tradition and Sanctity of the Family.—A brief résumé of the origin of marriage and the family among primitive peoples reminds us that these two were thus

intimately associated with each other, because of the benefits to the young which resulted from the male and female continuing to live together. Consequently marriage is rooted in the family, rather than the family in marriage, because of the dependence of the weak upon the strong. This in turn created the necessity for its responsible head to produce more sustenance than was needed for himself alone. This is an economic condition of the very highest importance, and one which no other institution except that of the family or slavery can insure. It is in accordance with the laws of nature that to the mother belongs the immediate care of the children; and the natural corollary of this throws the necessity for providing for the family on the father.

Two widely different reasons are given for the origin of the monogamic family, both of which doubtless contributed to its widespread adoption, and ultimately to the exclusion of all other forms of marriage. First, that women, weary of being exposed to the lust and sexual tyranny of men, arose *en masse* and successfully revolted against the bondage of unbridled hetairism; and second, that man, because of his innate jealousy and changed economic conditions willingly acquiesced, upon a certain proviso which left the door open for the iniquitous institution of prostitution.

Intense individualism, such as that which threatens to strike at the very foundation of the family to-day through the teachings of the extreme wing of feminists and radical socialists, as well as the doctrines of socialism and communism, are the primary instincts of primitive peoples, which history show were tried out and abandoned in the early stages of the development of the human race. It has been adequately proven that it is the highest form of organization and co-operation that

makes for the stability of the family and of the State, as well as for the economic progress and continued development of the race.

We have found that the oldest family of civilization was based on the belief in immortality, ancestor worship, and the sanctity of the home; substituting the pride of ancestry for ancestor worship, and the duty to our descendants, for the duty to our ancestors, these beliefs constitute to-day the only solid foundation on which the modern stable family can be built. We recognize just as real a duty to our ancestors though a very different one, which is to hand down to posterity unsullied their pure stream of life, enhanced by new acquisitions; and further we owe it to posterity to raise the standards of living, of good health, purity of morals, and the consciousness of the great brotherhood of man; all of which doctrines are embraced in the Christian religion.

The Constituent Parts: the Man in the Family.—The essential idea in regard to the institution of the family has remained: the supremacy of the father in the family; while the limitations imposed upon the power of the father have been partly those of the State, partly of custom. The very striking difference in the institution of the modern family consists in the freedom of sons to start independent households during the lifetime of their fathers; the freedom of children to acquire independent property; the freedom of children, on reaching maturity, to order their own lives; their freedom on majority to marry as they choose; the right of children to the protection of the State against cruelty on the part of their parents; and the greater freedom of the father in regard to the bequest of the family property.

Again, the organization of the family under one controlling head enables that co-operation in every depart-

ment which makes for the highest good of each and the stability of the whole. The variety of occupations open to the various members of the family also determines how far they will be forced to hold together and how far be able to exert their individual freedom.

Another reason for the authority of the father is the fact that he continues to represent it to the outside world as its recognized head. He acts for the family, stands for the family, and is its authorized representative. He is also held responsible by the community of which he is a member for the proper maintenance, conduct, and upbringing of the family which he called into existence.

The Status of the Mother of the Family.—With respect to the proper position of the woman or mother of the family, there is a general agreement up to a certain point. If the husband is the head of the family, the wife is the center. It is she who is primarily responsible for the care of the children, to the utmost extent which the family means will allow; it is her duty to see that they are well cared for, both physically and morally.

In general it is by will power that woman is superior to man; and it is in the domain of love that this superiority shines in all of its glory. As the general rule, it is the woman who sustains the family. Among the poorer classes it is she who economizes; she who watches carefully over all and corrects the failings, the passionate and impulsive acts and as well supports her husband in his frequent discouragements.

It follows from these facts that the modern tendency of women to become mere pleasure-seekers and to take a dislike to maternity leads to a complete degeneration of society. This is a grave social evil, which rapidly

causes the deterioration of the qualities and powers of expansion of a race.

The Status of the Child.—An immediate consequence of education has been a change in the status of the child. It is no longer property. The parent no longer says, "I am master," but, "I am responsible." He desires to develop his child's personality; and in its early years it is taught that it has certain duties as well as privileges.

The modern mother has begun to consider herself a human being as well as a mother; she is less animal and much more intellectual, and a broader view of life has made her more critical of her children's failings. The developing child has something to work for if it is to earn its parents' approval; for modern parents have become fair judges of excellence. There is also very much more of comradeship between modern parents and their children.

The unique sense of the parental feeling of possession, love, and responsibility for its offspring; the natural pride in the development, education, and training of their children; the shielding influence of the home during their infancy, childhood, and immaturity, have been the highest functions of the family. Such effective family training brings out and develops the best family characteristics, while the knowledge of the possible undesirable and really bad traits are suppressed by every known method.

The State versus Paternal Authority.—Particularly in the United States is there a growing tendency for the bonds of paternal authority to become looser, and even for youth wholly to cut the parental moorings. Further, the State has intervened to abridge the parental authority. Minor children are no longer looked upon

as the absolute property of their father. For the purpose of education the State removes children from their parents during a number of years for the greater part of the day; and it further forbids their employment in mines, factories, or other injurious vocations during their tender years. If they are cruelly treated and exposed to vicious influences, they may be removed from home and placed under the protection of the State. The family becomes therefore less a coercive institution where the children serve their parents, and more a spiritual and psychic association of parent and child, based on persuasion. A large part of the unlimited coercive power has been removed from the parents and annexed to various State institutions, where it is guided by the conceptions of children's rights. Thus the removal of the paternal as well as the marital coercive power has cleared the way for a higher and more spiritual domestic life.

The Family in Relation to Property.—It was to a great degree the relation of the patriarchal family to its property, quite as much as to the authority of the patriarch, which gave it such a concrete solidarity and strength. Here the power of "the dead hand" was no figure of speech or legal fiction; rather it was the living hand of the dead, maintaining its grip upon the family goods and stretching through the shadowy past to claim its share in the present. Even the unborn generations, by their indissoluble connection with the family property, anticipate their life, and so become a living force.

The essential factors for the effective family of the stable type, according to Le Play, are first sufficient private property to insure the occupation and maintenance of the family; and second, the authority of the father which enables him not only to handle the property

so as to conduce to the best interests of the family, but also to control and direct his children until they have learned to guide their own lives and are fitted to fulfil their duties. In order to establish this authority, not only must the father have full control over the property during his lifetime, but also have freedom of bequest, so as to insure that the property will remain intact for the future support of his family. It is chiefly through their fear of disinheritance that he can maintain his supremacy over his children.

To be tolerably well assured that our property will be enjoyed and well administered by our own children, instead of passing into the hands of strangers, is doubtless a great inducement to refrain from consuming it too freely on our own immediate, personal gratification.

Above and beyond this, the family is a very real and spiritual entity, comprising far more than the human individuals who may happen to be in existence at any particular moment. For them the long line of ancestors still live, in a life of great deeds and noble achievements, or unstained reputation still echoes in the souls of their descendants, molding their characters, influencing their wills, and through them continuing, long after the death of the body, to be a great living force. It is this inheritance, far more than any material wealth, which the noblest desire to preserve, not only for their own descendants, but also for the State. It is an inheritance which can never be wholly alienated or dissipated; we cannot, if we would, shake ourselves free from those who have preceded us. The great loss for the man who knows nothing of his ancestors is that his character has not been molded by the knowledge of the strength derived from them, nor his emulation fired by the desire to be worthy of them; nor do their failures warn him where

his own peculiar dangers lie. His inheritance is there, but he is unconscious of it; and being unconscious of it he can neither control it, nor benefit from it, as may the man to whom it is a living reality.

We have now followed the development of the family from the infancy of the human race, and have found that the general tendency has always been toward a higher, more clearly differentiated type of the single pairing family. Quite aside from the question of the attitude of the Church upon this institution, the healthiest social sentiments have increasingly demanded that this "pairing" should be a life-long partnership. Thus the stream of evolution has always proceded, gaining in purity and strength.

We now come to consider the grave question of the *future* of the family. In order to intelligently forecast the effect that the economic independence of woman, which presupposes her higher education, vocational training, and enfranchisement, will have on the stability of the home, it is essential to turn our attention to her secondary sexual characteristics of love, the maternal instincts, and her monogamic tendencies; as well as what has been the effect of her economic dependence on the stability of the family in the past, and what has already been found to be the reflex action of woman's broader sphere of usefulness on her functions of wife and mother. Before considering this part of our subject it will be helpful to recall some of the effects of woman's economic dependence on the stability of the family.

The Effect on the Stability of the Family of Woman's Economic Dependence.—It is singular what acute anxiety was felt in the past by students of the old régime, lest woman's broader intellectual life should prove disastrous to her physical constitution, unmindful of the fact

that even now for the majority of married women the burdens of the orthodox natural sphere are far more harmful. Still further the evidence is rapidly accumulating which makes it impossible to deny that during the long ages of patriarchal rule the feminine constitution was most disastrously injured, and this much vaunted "sphere of woman," where she was thought so safe and happy, has been in fact a very hotbed of disease, misery, and wrong. The cumulative effect of the repression of the normal physical, psychic, intellectual, and vocational activities through thousands of years has resulted in the more or less ailing and diseased state into which woman has fallen; and upon her shoulders has been laid the penalty of the injustice and selfishness of men.

Further than this, woman's subjugation and economic dependence have reacted most seriously on her husband and children, and on the progress of the race as a whole. We have seen that the natural result of woman's repression has been to develop most undesirable secondary characteristics, which together with her narrowness of vision and personal ego, the only thing to be considered, has caused man to find life in the home anything but happy. The woman, having gone into marriage only for what she could get out of it, has harassed her husband by her intolerable extravagance and her heavy demands upon his time, and has often so wrought upon his physical and mental life as to render him wholly incapable for the efficient pursuit of his professional or vocational work. So has come about the old saying, "A man that's married is a man that's marred."

The great increase in the divorce-rate in recent years, which has given the United States the unenviable distinction of having one out of every twelve marriages end in the divorce court, is evidence of two things:

that woman will no longer stand for the overpowering tyranny of man, because she is now economically independent and is therefore not obliged to; and that man on his part will no longer stand for the petty tyrannies of woman, which render life almost intolerable.

In transition stages of any kind, repressed anarchists always prove a menace to any sort of stable government, because it gives them an opportunity to sow their deadly seeds of propaganda among ignorant and unthinking people. So in this transition stage of economic independence and enfranchisement of women, so essential for the progress of the race, there have appeared on the scene the radical wings of feminists and socialists, who would have monogamic marriages abolished in order to indulge in the lusts which have been the natural result of cons of the exaggeration of the sexual ego. There is no justification in the whole history of the human race for the care of children by the state, so that men and women may be free to enter into or abandon marriage as their passing fancy may dictate. If it should ever come to pass that men and women will be content to abandon their children merely for the sake of their own greater ease and freedom of movement, it will mean the breaking up of the whole moral nature of the race, and not the family alone but the State itself will be shattered to its very foundations.

Paraphrasing Napoleon, the child may say: "I am the family; the family is the State; the State is the Nation; the Nation is the race. *I am the race.*" Great statesmen have always fully realized how intimately the welfare of the State depended upon the influence and welfare of the family of which it was constituted, and so have endeavored by a systematic exposition of laws upon this subject to endeavor to mold and influence the family to its own purpose.

Secondary Female Characteristics which Make for the Stability of the Family.—First, we have seen that sexual desire, in the force of its strength, is second only to hunger itself, with this essential difference, that in the normal state it is intermittent. There may even be long periods of time in which it is not consciously manifest, but it is nevertheless a universal human characteristic, and its irradiations are the underlying cause of much of human happiness.

Man has from time to time varied his demands upon woman, to fit in with the current conditions of the age. Twenty-five years ago it would not only have been shockingly immodest, but beyond the pale of good society, for woman to have admitted that she possessed so human a trait as sexual instinct; for at that particular age it was demanded of her that she possess not only the chastity but also the virginal coldness of the lily, until man, the master, struck the chords which were then to respond to the masculine touch on the human instinct.

To-day man charges that woman's sexual instinct is as little a part of her fundamental nature as last season's gowns, which are laid aside because no longer the mode; in other words, that when she shall have reached the stage of economic independence her feminine nature will be wholly submerged in her vocational career; that she will no longer desire to marry and bring up a family.

That same objection was urged against the higher education of women, but it has not proved true; and the opponents of that movement have been compelled to admit that it has not been proved true. It has not been so in the case of man, whose economic independence on the contrary has led him to desire to found a family. We have just seen that the distortion of woman's nature,

from the lack of education and vocational occupation, has greatly intensified her sexual characteristics, to the undermining of her health and moral nature.

The instinct to leave our impress on the world and the succeeding generations is one of the most powerful impelling motives in the work of every man and woman worth while in the world to-day. Sex instinct is but another name for creative instinct. There is no lack of love or the maternal instinct among the educated and vocationally and economically independent classes of women to-day; but these women have certain standards to which men must measure up. They do not regard marriage in the light of an experiment to be dissolved if not happy; neither do they contemplate bringing into the world a family of degenerates, as adding anything to their own happiness or to the benefit of the state. They have, by education and long years of self-control, learned to bridle their passions and find a healthy outlet for them in useful labor, the most satisfactory of which is creative work; something on which they can place their own stamp.

The fundamental preference of every normal and healthy woman is for a happy marriage with children, but it takes two people to complete the marriage contract. If the number of spinsters among educated women is increasing, it would be well to inquire what the men are doing. If people would only study history and social economics instead of rambling so far afield, there would be a great saving of pen and ink and the world might arrive at some just conclusions.

It is not that education and learning diminish sex feeling, but there does result a power of transformation, of sublimation in the Freudian sense, which keeps it under control. The fact that men or women succeed in what they undertake is proof of their sex energy.

The Maternal Instinct: Woman as the Mother of the Race.—The most profound and normal irradiation of the sexual appetite in woman is maternal love. A woman who does not love her child is an abnormal being. Further than this, collateral evidence supports the conclusion that the relation of mother and child is the natural germinating point of altruistic sympathy, and through it there may be associated the entire range of family relationship that comes from and with the sharing of the same nest. The group relation is thus established and may well be the model for the wider group relation that human society has at all times developed.

In the early social organization, as we have seen, the woman there, as everywhere, represents the center of social stability, the point of return of the provider to his own, the indisputable basis of kinship, and through it of family unity and tribal consanguinity; the nucleus of conservative tendencies, the cradle of the effective life in the reciprocal relations of mother and child, and equally the primary school of discipline and tradition. The reproductive function is thus made the central condition of the social structure, not only in primitive times but throughout all the ages.

Man's sexual ardor is stronger, and through its stress in primitive times he developed in courtship the struggle for mates and the assertive quality of his nature. His activities and the resulting interests have always been more variable, while woman has a larger and more rigid determination, owing to the dominance of her organization, which makes her reproductive interests larger, and gives her functional activities, once adjusted, a steadier and more regular orbit. The greater morality of woman, bringing her nearer the race norm, is related to

her anabolic habits; that in turn is a piece of her lesser variability. The stronger hold of the family ties upon woman, the intensity of the maternal concern, may account for the readier emergency in the feminine nature for the altruistic flavor of sympathy, and the stronger hold upon man of the objective co-operation, making for mutual benefit and leadership.

That the family of the future will be increased in quality and diminished in numbers must necessarily follow; if this could be brought about through all layers of society, it would be a desideratum devoutly to be wished for. All reproduction involves an expenditure of energy in some degree on the part of the parents, and more specifically on the part of the mother. Now the energy available by any individual is finite; if it is all spent upon reproduction, the individual development of the mother must cease.

Spencer's principle is that there is an antagonism, or as we may say an inverse ratio, between individuation and genesis, between the proportion of energy expended upon the individual and the proportion expended upon the continuance of the race. Every higher degree of individual evolution is followed by a lower degree of race multiplication, and *vice versâ*.

Spencer also teaches that individuality compensates a race for loss of higher fertility. Progress is the replacement of the lower by the higher life; the supersession of the quantitative by the qualitative criterion of the survival values; the increasing dominance of mind over matter; the substitution of the intensive for the merely extensive cultivation of life.

Primarily the body of woman is the temple of the life to come, and therefore the holy of holies. This involves many cardinal principles of the highest importance.

First is the higher individual development of women; their higher education, and their self-expression.

The proposition that all progress in the psychic world depends upon individuality, just as all organic progress and organic evolution depend upon the physical individuality which biologists call variation, may suggest to the reader the importance which must be attached to the study of talent and genius, in the possibility of augmenting their production.

Just in proportion as the education of woman is better, wider, and more thorough, the home loses the aspect of narrowness, self-absorption, and conventionality which has been too apt to characterize it in the past, becoming a fitting nursery for a nobler generation to follow.

The Reflex Action of Woman's Economic Independence on Her Functions as Wife and Mother.—A curious short-sightedness seems to have affected men whenever they have turned their attention to considering woman. They complain, and with justice, of her narrow-mindedness, her lack of intelligent interests, her uncertain temper, and her frivolity. All these characteristics tend to make her a most trying partner to live with. The strange thing is that man has so seldom recognized that the remedy lies not in the complaint, but in admitting woman into the higher interests and more invigorating intellectual and vocational life. The new ideal is that the devotion of women would be greater, not less, if they had richer minds and wiser hearts to give; that the noblest harmonies of life arise when two disciplined and independent minds combine, and that the truest comradeship is found when man and woman meet on the common grounds of intellectual respect. Innumerable happy homes bear witness to the truth of this ideal, and so the battle has been won, in principle at least.

When woman was wholly dependent on marriage for a livelihood she was obliged to cultivate those attractions which depend on sex, preventing her from engaging in various physical activities and gainful pursuits that develop both physical and mental vigor, and her own resulting weakened bodily and mental condition reacted most unfavorably upon her offspring. Men are manifestly less healthful and vigorous than they would have been if they had been born of robust and vigorous mothers.

Very many years ago Mrs. John Stuart Mill, realizing the deteriorating influence on the race of woman's intellectual inferiority, contended that in order to render woman a real companion to man in his struggle for existence, intellectual training and economic emancipation were necessary, instead of subjection and ignorance, which always degrade the character of the husband as well as her own, since there is hardly any situation more unfavorable to character or force of intellect than living in the society and seeking by preference the sympathy of mental inferiors.

Affection depends to a very high degree upon sympathy, each mutually strengthening the other. Community of interests, sentiments, culture, and mode of life are essential to close sympathy and therefore favorable to warm affection.

When, through the broadening forces of the powers of generalization, philosophic reasoning, logic, initiative, and the life, which are now termed masculine, women will be stimulated to greater intellectual activity and more creative work, they will not only be more attractive and companionable for their husbands, but will also be far more competent teachers for their children. Their enlarged range of thought will inspire greater confidence

in their sons and stimulate higher ideals in both sons and daughters. It is a common observation that great men are usually born of highly endowed mothers. It follows that the greater the opportunities open to women, the wider will be the mental range and activities of their children, and the larger the intellectual equipment of the mothers, the finer and stronger will be the nature of their sons and daughters. It is thus seen that to increase woman's intellectual, economic, and political opportunities is as important to men as it is to women, for it is obvious that whatever tends to uplift marriage and promote matehood is directly in line with social progress.

Women who have become efficient in vocational or professional work which brings them economic independence, though they may gladly lay it aside for a time for the duties of maternity, find it difficult to believe that marriage and a few children, who all too soon leave the nest in search of education, must be paid for by life-long abstinence from economic productiveness, and from the practice of a craft that has grown dear to them.

This was the last and seemed the most insurmountable obstacle which woman had to overcome; that marriage and child-bearing would be a serious menace to woman's continuous and hard professional labor. In the case of school teachers it is still, in many places, equivalent to sending in her resignation, for the woman to get married. In the earlier days of woman's entrance into the medical profession, many of them, with their Puritanic and Calvinistic consciences, fearing that the duties of these two apparently all-absorbing professions of medicine and maternity might clash, to the serious detriment of one of them, forebore the happiness of married life, to the exclusion of all desirable male suitors, and married their professions instead. It speaks well for their devotion to

a noble cause and their spirit of renunciation; but it was most unnecessary, as the large experience of a number of married professional women has since proved. The period of child-bearing is not only not continuous through life, but it is not serious from the standpoint of time lost. No work is without interruption; and childbirth is an incident in the life of the normal woman of no more significance, when viewed in the aggregate and from the standpoint of time lost, than the interruption in the work of men caused by one reason or another. The important point in all work is not that it shall not be interrupted, but that it shall be taken up again.

Then, too, the professional woman has learned to systematize her time. She has become methodic and can and very often does give better care to her home and family than a very great many society women. She has mastered household economics, the value of money, the need of freedom from all petty cares for professional life, and consequently makes a much more efficient wife for her husband.

It is generally conceded by educators that women who are not engaged in the duties of maternity need the same intellectual and industrial activities as men. But have we any ground for concluding that women who are filling the duties of maternity are thereby excluded from exercising full mental and physical activities in other directions? Even under the restricted conditions which have prevailed in civilization, large numbers of women who have borne children and successfully reared them have, at the same time, been eminent in intellectual and artistic pursuits.

Furthermore, because of the physiologic changes in woman's life toward the end of the child-bearing period, which cause certain psychologic alterations in her nature,

it is most essential, for every reason, that her mind shall be occupied at this time with absorbing intellectual or vocational work.

That the higher education of woman is proving to be a powerful factor in *increasing* the stability of the family is emphasized by the fact that calculations based on the records of the graduates of Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Radcliffe and Wells Colleges, and of Northwestern University, give as *the ratio of college women and divorce* as *one to fifty-seven;* as against the general ratio in the United States, which is one in twelve.

The Critical or Dangerous Age.—This age may be properly so-called from the presence of pathologic conditions consequent upon injuries which took place at childbirth and were never properly repaired; or simply from an intense congestion of the female pelvic organs, due to the oncoming of the menopause or the cessation of the periodic menstrual flow, which frequently occasions serious psychic changes; or it may be a feeling of a great void in the woman's life, caused by the departure of her children from the home. The first condition requires surgical interference, which is generally curative.

The marked change in woman's psychic nature at this time, which is often nothing less than revolutionary in her attitude toward sexual life, is the thing which makes for undermining of her character and is a real menace in many instances toward her family and society.

There is a very real physiologic foundation for this state of mind. The pelvic congestion, normally relieved by the periodic flow of blood, becomes more or less cumulative, and this pathologic congestion in turn is responsible for voluptuous sensations and desires, which, if not suppressed by proper medical treatment and intel-

lectual or vocational pursuits, pre-empting the entire consciousness, frequently lead to social disasters. A woman at this age and in this psychic condition is dangerously fascinating for young men, just as the man of this age is for young girls. Like the man, she is a serious rival for youth, and is very apt to blacken her sex in the man's eyes. For both men and women, the autumn of life is the high tide of passion, as is so well illustrated by Anthony and Cleopatra.

At this period there tends to be an abnormal nervous instability and irritability, which in normal women, who have had themselves under sharp self-control, and their superfluous energies more than taxed with their life-work, can at least be held in abeyance until the active conditions which were its cause have subsided.

Generally speaking, passion in woman is more intense toward the close than at the beginning of menstrual life; fortunately it is very often caused by well-defined pathologic conditions, which are wholly remediable. Although neither sexual appetite nor voluptuous sensations disappear at the time of the menopause; desire does normally diminish as age advances.

The Goal of Social Evolution in Respect to the Family.—If woman's equal partnership with man in the nurture of the family and in facing the exigencies of external life depended mainly on equal education, never was such an education more urgently needed than at the present time. Social and industrial problems are constantly demanding higher and higher mental training for their solution. Clearly then husband and wife have great need of intellectual sympathy and counsel in the discharge of their joint yet partially differentiated tasks. Educational equality is however but one phase of the movement for woman's liberation. There are other

factors in the ideal partnership of the sexes for the uplifting of society. Intellectual emancipation is proceeding hand in hand with political and economic emancipation. The three movements are in a large measure blended and interdependent. The participation of women in new vocations, industrial, artistic, professional, or administrative, implies a great advance in mental training; it means a distinct unfolding of faculties and character. No sociologic change equal in importance to this clearly marked improvement of an entire sex has ever taken place within one century. It is a revolution in which one-half of the human race is becoming an equal factor with the other, in intellectual and economic production. With far greater justice it was complained a century ago that "the intrusion of men traders into woman's work was driving her to destitution and thus fostering the social evil." The callings in which women are charged with intruding were many of them women's callings before they were men's.

Neither mother-right alone or father-right alone can satisfy the new ideals of the true relationship of the sexes. The spiritual force slowly unfolding, that has uplifted and is still uplifting womanhood, is the foundation of woman's claim that the further progress of humanity is bound up with her restoration to a position of freedom and human equality. This position she must not take from man, as that would be a step backward; she is to share it with him; and more than all for the sake of their children and all the children of the race. This replacement of the mother, side by side with the father, in the home and in the larger home of the State, is the true work of the woman's movement.

Mr. Spencer's conclusions of the whole subject is that the monogamic form of the sexual relation is manifestly

the ultimate one. Future evolution along the lines so far followed may be expected to extend the monogamic relations by extinguishing promiscuity, and by suppressing such crimes as bigamy and adultery. Already a growing disapproval of those who marry for money and position is expressed; and this growing disapproval may be expected to purify the monogamic union by making it real instead of nominal.

Marriage contracted upon the basis of mutual attraction and choice of companionship; of reciprocal rights and privileges; and of equal standard of morals, is far more likely to survive than the coercive marriage with its inequality, economic dependence, and dual standard of morals.

Love is a far more powerful and permanent element than force. Freed from physical, economic, or legal compulsion, women, on the ground of purely voluntary affection, will be willing and desirous of entering into marriage as their normal life condition; and with far greater prospect that the union will be happy and lasting. On the basis of mutual respect and affection the chances of permanency are greatly enhanced.

When the husband comes to realize that the only power by which he can retain his wife is that by which he won her, he is not likely to assert an authority and assume an attitude which is repugnant to her, but will continue to pay deference to her wishes and concede to her the responsibility for her own personality. When the wife in turn realizes that she may not call upon legal aid to retain her husband's affection, she will endeavor to retain the qualities which made her attractive to him before marriage.

Such an attitude on the part of the married couple does not guarantee congeniality, nor annihilate the extreme difficulties which beset marriage, but it does immensely

increase the probability of permanence, and that conjugal affection will have far greater chance of survival. Spiritual ties are stronger than legal ones. Thrown upon these resources there will be the largest possible opportunity for the realization of the social ideal; a permanent monogamous union, motherhood of choice, and a parenthood of affection.

The duration of the monogamous union tends to be until death. Unavoidable mistakes in this union, as in all others, will not be irremediable. The homes which abide will be happy homes and the sum total of happiness and well being will be vastly increased.

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